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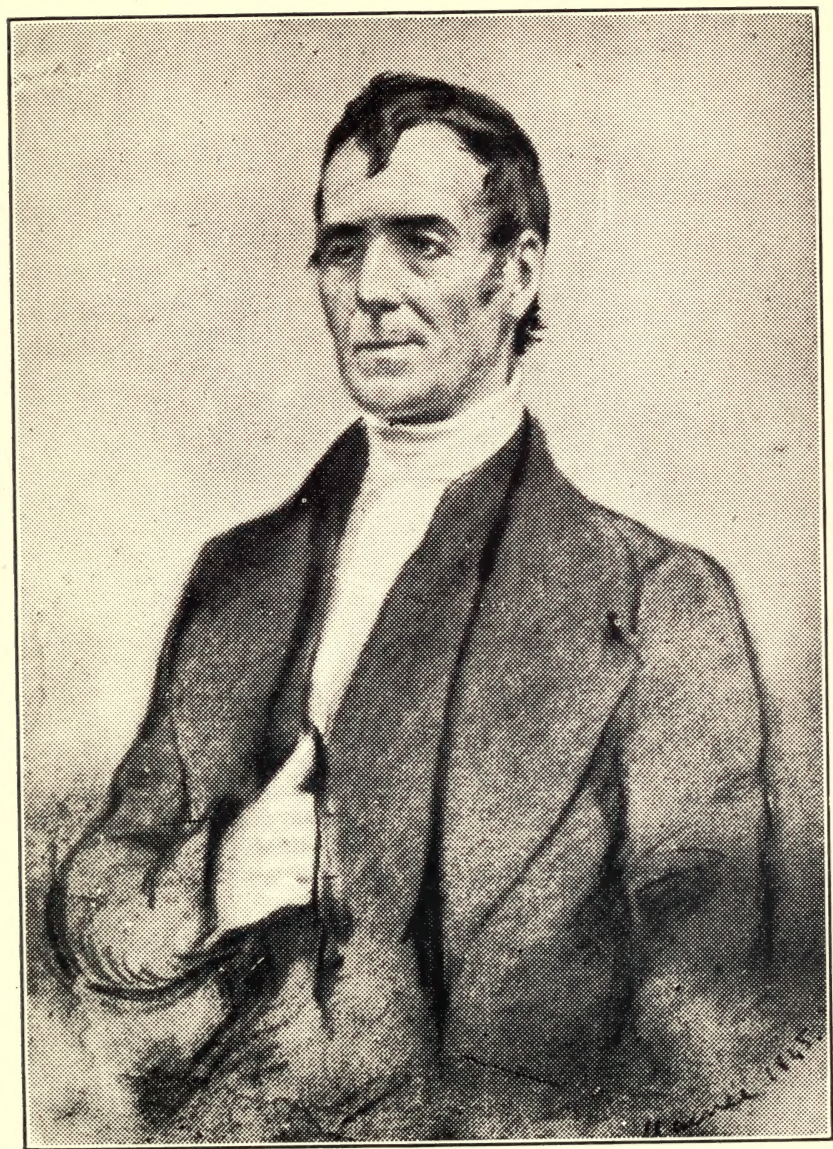
W. D. Rux

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1867

W. D. Rux

Franc J. G. O.
Oct. 22--84

THE LIFE OF THOMAS McCULLOCH, D.D.



Most affectionately yours

Thomas McCulloch

LIFE
OF
THOMAS McCULLOCH, D.D.
PICTOU

BY
HIS SON
WILLIAM McCULLOCH, D.D.
FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
TRURO.

EDITED BY
HIS GRANDDAUGHTERS

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EMMANUEL

TO
THE PRINCIPAL AND FACULTY
OF THE
PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE, HALIFAX
ON THE OCCASION
OF ITS HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY,

THIS VOLUME
IS
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

Preface.

A quarter of a century has passed since the death of our father, when these manuscripts were committed to our care. Their preparation was begun previous to his retirement from the active duties of the ministry, and completed during his declining years. Our grandfather's public life in Nova Scotia was bound up with the history of Pictou Academy; his private life was largely affected by it. This being so, it was unavoidable that the written story should exhibit much of the nature of struggle and strife—the atmosphere in which the life's work was carried on. Without this setting the narrative would not only be colorless, but wanting in the essential quality. It is owing to this, coupled with our father's express wish that some time should elapse before publication, because of "those whose feelings might be painfully excited" thereby, that further action has been so long delayed. In view of the recent celebration of the Centennial of Dalhousie University, and the approaching Centennial of the Presbyterian College, Halifax, the time seems suitable for the discharge of our trust. Unlike Dr. James McGregor, our grandfather kept no diary, but all unknown to him the material which subsequently formed the basis of a large part of these notes was being preserved in his native land. With his college companion, and life long friend, the Rev. John Mitchell, D. D., of Glasgow, and also with his son, James Mitchell, Esq., he kept up a constant correspondence, and to the latter, the author was indebted for the return of letters which have proved so valuable. What the Secession Church in this Province, in its early struggle for education, owed to the unfailing sympathy and practical aid of Dr. Mitchell and his family, it would be difficult to overestimate. Even at this distant date it affords great satisfaction to make this acknowledgment.

With the manuscripts have been incorporated some details of purely family interest, and letters bearing upon the establishment of Dalhousie College. While written primarily for the purpose of doing justice to a father's memory, it is hoped that this volume may have an interest for the public because of the light thrown upon the early struggle for education in the Province, and because of the addition to our knowledge of the history of our Church to which the late Rev. George Patterson, D. D., has already made such valuable contribution.

To Principal MacKinnon, and to Professor James W. Falconer, we are greatly indebted for encouragement and advice.

ISABELLA WALKER McCULLOCH,
JEAN WALLACE McCULLOCH.

Woodcliffe,

Truro, July 14th, 1920.

Contents.

CHAPTER I.		Page
Civil and religious conditions in the British Colonies in 1803.	.	6
CHAPTER II.		
Parentage—Education—First Charge—Marriage	.	17
CHAPTER III.		
Farewell to Scotland, and first days in New Scotland ..	.	25
CHAPTER IV.		
Plans for a native ministry—Difficulties and Controversies .	.	36
CHAPTER V.		
Foundations of education in Nova Scotia .	.	50
CHAPTER VI.		
Church Union—Dalhousie College—Marriage Laws .	.	63
CHAPTER VII.		
Academy opened—Divinity Professorship—Literary Work .	.	75
CHAPTER VIII.		
Students licensed—M. A. Degrees—Dr. McCulloch revisits Scotland .	.	94
CHAPTER IX.		
The Glasgow Society—Opposition .	.	107
CHAPTER X.		
The Colonial Patriot—Reply to Secret charges—Sir James Kempt.	.	111
CHAPTER XI.		
Philosophical Lectures—Brandy election .	.	125
CHAPTER XII.		
Death of Dr. McGregor—Appeal to Britain .	.	133
CHAPTER XIII.		
Lower Branches Bill—Proposal to join Church of England.	.	144

CONTENTS—Continued

	Page
CHAPTER XIV.	
An embryo Museum—Audubon—Provincial affairs	163
CHAPTER XV.	
Address to Synod—Philosophical Society.	171
CHAPTER XVI.	
Removal to Dalhousie College—Correspondence	186
CHAPTER XVII.	
Closing days—Last illness—Death	193
CHAPTER XVIII.	
Burial—Dedication of Monument	194
Appendix	197
Index	219

List of Illustrations.

	Page
Thomas McCulloch, D. D., From Portrait by Sir Daniel Macnee	Frontispiece
Secession Church, Stewarton	11
The Manse, Stewarton	11
Parish Church, Cathcart, Scotland	19
Site of paper mill, Cathcart	35
Sherbrooke Cottage, Pictou	51
The Pictou Academy	67
Rev. John Mitchell, D.D.	83
Rev. William McCulloch, D. D., From Photograph, 1878.	99
John J. Audubon, F. R. S.	147
Autograph letter	163
Original Dalhousie College	179
Grave of Dr. Thomas McCulloch, Photographed July 4th, 1867	197

“Those who go furthest know not
whither they are going. That is
because they go forward by a divine
impulse.”—*Cromwell*.

LIFE OF THOMAS McCULLOCH, D. D.

CHAPTER I.

Civil and Religious Conditions in the British Colonies in 1803.

The civil and religious condition of British Colonial life in the year 1880 affords no correct view of its character at the time when the subject of these reminiscences landed in Nova Scotia. Read in the light of the experience of today, the relations of the people to their rulers eighty years ago seem almost incredible. An expatriated Briton received such privileges as Colonial authorities saw fit to grant, and to grant only on condition of good behaviour, which meant slavish subserviency. Of this fact the history of British America is full. Imperial rulers appeared to think the reproduction of the English type of government essential to the formation and very existence of a Colonial Empire. Hence, with few exceptions, in each dependency petty royalty was established, with no lack of officials and officialism. Offices were filled by needy dependents of the Home Government, possessed of little qualification for duty required, and as little sympathy for the people over whom they were placed. Beside this, the distance from the centre of the Empire was so great, and Imperial interests so vast, that even if grievances threatening serious complications existed they had little chance of redress. Complaints must pass under the inspection of the very parties against whom they were made, who could either suppress or delay dangerous documents, or, as often occurred, neutralize them by counter-representation. A friend in the British Cabinet could render fruitless the strongest appeals of the dissatisfied.

Another element which complicated the difficulties and increased the hardships of Colonial life, and for many years bore most oppressively upon the welfare of the country, was the

attitude of the British Government to the rapidly growing power of religious dissent. Episcopacy and loyalty, Dissent and disloyalty were regarded as convertible terms. Hence, in establishing a colony it was not enough to place it under English law; an Established Church must form an essential element of its constitution, thus placing Episcopalians and Dissenters in the same relation to the Colonial authorities that they were known to hold to the Home Government. In qualifying for office a Dissenter was required to take the Sacrament in the Church of England. Any assertion of rights resting upon mere citizenship, irrespective of religious belief, only intensified the evils of a man's social position. In assimilating the Colonial to the Imperial constitution the Episcopal Bishop held a seat in the Legislative Council, and was also a member of the Executive. As a legislator, and an adviser of the Governor, he was in a position to secure for his own denomination many advantages withheld from others. In the early days in Nova Scotia this position was so used as to arouse a public sentiment which relegated the Bishop of the time to his legitimate sphere, the care of his Church. To the Episcopal element in the British Constitution can be traced years of injustice to non-Episcopalians, and beyond all question the early struggles of the friends of higher education, and the present folly of sectarian Colleges. Had the doors of Windsor College been thrown open to education on large and generous principles its halls would today have been crowded, and alone it would have stood as the Alma Mater of the youth of Nova Scotia.

To the attempt to tax the Colonies by Imperial statute we can trace the first overt act of resistance in the now United States, but the origin of that statute lies deeper than the mere blunder of British rulers. In these Colonies, zeal for the Episcopal Church, and absolute submission to authority, were synonymous with loyalty, and formed the sure path to preferment, while independence of religious thought was frowned upon as a disqualification for any position of trust. A Dissenter was a kind of pariah. This was the result of the "No bishop, no king," doctrine. Many who cared little for kings, and less for bishops, adopted this creed for its quietude

and worldly benefits; hopelessness of improvement, and the danger of agitation, taught men prudence; official inability to fathom the depths of social dissatisfaction, and consequent misrepresentation of the state of colonial feeling transmitted to headquarters, led to Britain's coercive acts which severed half a continent from the British Crown. Those acts merely precipitated a revolt for which long years of misgovernment had been a preparation. Of this no student of history can be ignorant. That revolt failed to teach British rulers its most suggestive lesson, that expatriated Britons carry to their new homes the love of liberty of the fatherland, and further, that by making politico-Episcopacy, with its passive submission, the test of loyalty and qualification for advancement, they ignored the citizenship and outraged the rights of the vast majority of the colonists. The United States is today the outcome of a policy which placed the bishop on a level with the king.

When Nova Scotia became an appanage of the British Crown the same unwise course was adopted. It became a petty kingdom with its King, its Lords, and Commons, with all the quasi-dignity of officialism, and arrogance in the exercise of exclusive rights. Governors, and not a few officials, were military men, whose ideas of governing savored of the Mutiny Act and the drum-head Court-Martial. Said one of these men, "What right had your politicians to question the will of the British Government? It was theirs to obey, not to question." And this in 1866! Less than fifty years ago a leading advocate in Edinburgh informed the writer that at the door of a hall where a Liberal meeting was being held, agents of the Government took their stand and marked the name of every individual as he entered, for transmission to headquarters; so jealous was the Government of the slightest ripple of that rising tide of free thought and discussion which in half a century has done so much to break the yoke of a crushing despotism. On the small arena of colonial life, where British officers played the king, and where those of inferior station aped Britain's nobility, you could find the same supercilious contempt for the "commonalty," and effort to crush the man who had a

mind of his own. The results were conducive neither to attachment to rulers, nor to the welfare of those who ventured to assert the right of private judgment. Such, in the memory of many still living, was the political and social condition of the British American provinces. There are those who still remember "the wormwood, and the gall." That matters are different today is due, not so much to enlarged views on the part of British Statesmen, as to the stern attitude of men roused to assert, peaceably, their rights as British subjects. Provincial self-government was not the spontaneous gift of Britain's rulers; it was wrenched from official grasp only when with safety it could no longer be withheld.

While such was the state of affairs in Nova Scotia the subject of the following reminiscences landed on her shores. His life, while presenting many scenes apparently inconsistent with his character and position, can receive vindication only by an accurate acquaintance with a system of government happily no longer in existence, which reacted upon a spirit deeply imbued with the principles of civil and religious liberty. To his determined assertion of these views in the interests of his adopted home may be traced a career, which, whatever of good it may have accomplished, entailed an amount of persecution and suffering known only to himself and his family.

CHAPTER II.

Parentage.—Education.—First Charge.—Marriage.

Thomas McCulloch was the second son of Michael McCulloch and Elizabeth Neilson, and was born at Fereneze, Parish of Neilston, Renfrewshire, Scotland, in the year 1776. He was descended from the McCullochs, (or Maccullochs, as the old style has it,) of Galloway, and claimed kinship with Covenanters. A tradition in the family credits an ancestor with the honour of having fought at the battle of Bothwell Bridge. His father was a master block-printer.

(The Rev. G.H. Morrison, D. D., in his introduction to the new edition of Hugh Macdonald's "Rambles Round Glasgow," says, "The business of calico-printing, or block-printing, now entirely accomplished by steam-plant, was in Macdonald's day a handicraft, wrought by means of engraved blocks. It was a high-class craft, well paid, (as wages went then;) not without elements of artistic pleasure in it".)—Eds.

Michael McCulloch died in his forty-sixth year, leaving a family of six, five sons, and one daughter. Andrew, the eldest son, was in business in Mearns, subsequently at Spring Vale, Hammersmith, London, and at Tarare, near Lyons, France. He died at Glasgow, April 8th, 1854. John, the third son, removed to Nova Scotia, and on a voyage from Halifax to Pictou, lost his life with all the crew on the coast of Cape Breton, not without suspicion of foul play from wreckers. William, the fourth son, was a surgeon, and practised throughout the middle and east of this Province for a few years previous to his death, in 1813, at the early age of thirty-seven. George, the youngest, was a cabinet maker, and spent the last few years of his life in Pictou. Specimens of his work in the form of carved wainscoting are to be seen in the old home-
stead there.

Mrs. Michael McCulloch, with her only daughter, Mary Elizabeth, followed the other members of the family to Pictou,

where they lived in a cottage built on the east side of the property owned by her son Thomas, but long since removed. The daughter died in 1860, in her ninety-fifth year.

Mrs. Thomas McCulloch has left on record the following tribute to the memory of her husband's mother. "Well was it for me that I was blessed with the example and motherly affection of our good old grandmother, in many unthought of trials in the land of strangers, and I fondly hope that the many, many, precious petitions presented at her Father's throne on our behalf will not remain without a special, a powerful return of saving mercy to our souls as a family, and as individuals. We were all near her heart, especially our eternal interests." To this may be added that in her old age she was so loving, gentle and attractive to us children that it was deemed a great favour to be permitted to read to her out of her old Bible. Generally the chapter selected by us was the account of David's battle with the giant, to which she would patiently listen, then select for herself. Our annual gatherings at her house were a great treat, and nothing remains of our early recollections to dim the brightness of her character.

Thomas McCulloch early manifested a predilection for study, and after the usual routine of a Scottish parish school he entered the University of Glasgow. Of this period of his life there is little to record, for of it he seldom spoke. He possessed an aptitude for the study of Oriental languages, and to add to his limited resources, he conducted a private class for the study of Hebrew. Among his pupils were Dr. Wardlaw of Glasgow, and Mr. Waddell, my late predecessor in the ministry in Truro. For a youth not yet twenty years of age this was rather a bold effort, but in it there was a two-fold providence. It not only provided aid for the time, but laid the foundation of a fitness for work in after life of which then he had no conception. He also took the Medical course at the University, but for reasons unknown he never proceeded to a degree. At the close of his Collegiate course he entered the Secession Divinity Hall at Whitburn, then under Professor Bruce, and after the usual period of study was licensed by the Presbytery of Kilmarnock.

In the year 1799 he was called to the Secession Church at Stewarton, about eighteen miles south of Glasgow, and was ordained and settled on June 13th of the same year. The congregation was small, and by no means wealthy, as may be judged by the salary given, which was eighty pounds per annum. In the Secession Church of that period a minister's life meant economy, hard work, and careful, elaborate preparation for the pulpit. The man who eighty years ago would have gone into the pulpit with the trifling preparation which often makes the popular preacher of today would soon have had himself alone for his audience. On the renewal of his acquaintance with the scenes of his early ministry in 1826, and again in 1842, Mr. McCulloch found some who remembered him in the pulpit, and not a few who could speak of the pastoral visitations and catechizings of their early years, and in visiting Stewarton in 1849, the writer received pleasant tokens of the hold which their former pastor still held on the affection of the people.

While discharging his pastoral duties he was a hard student of Oriental languages and literature, and varied this by making himself thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the British Constitution, especially in their bearing upon the rapidly rising questions of the civil and religious rights of citizenship. Often when a boy I wondered what a minister had to do with legal lore, such works as Blackstone's Commentaries and the *Esprit des Lois* being found side by side with Calvin and Turretine. Extensive examination of the Fathers, and the study of Church History generally, engaged his attention, particularly in connection with the rise and development of the Church of Rome. Of the investigations of those early days, together with subsequent examinations when engaged in Romish controversy, his library bears evidence, in numerous notes and references. Self-cultivation, not as a mere enjoyment, but as a duty, was a regulating principle in his life, and was enforced upon those who came under his influence as one of the great secrets of success.

In stature Mr. McCulloch was about medium height, slightly built, light and active, and capable of enduring long continued physical strain. He was a clear and deep thinker, the result of combining the study of books with the study of

men, and the spirit of the times. In preaching he possessed the faculty of readily grasping the main point of a subject, and connecting it with its varied lines of collateral thought and illustration, and in a style clear, terse, almost proverbial, conveying to the hearer just what he intended to say, nothing more nor less. The least intelligent could easily grasp his meaning, couched as it was in vigorous Saxon, and free from technical or high sounding words and phrases. Even when a lad, as he made some pointed statement of duty, and illustrated it, as was his wont, with a reference to the scenes of common life, the thought came, "Why did I not think of that?" But I did not think of it. On one occasion when he was preaching for the Rev. Dr. Robson of Dalkeith, an aged hearer, at the close of the service, thus accosted the Doctor. "Wha's yon? Wha's yon? Eh! Mon! his exerceeses are like the proverbs o' Solomon." He was quiet in the pulpit, using no gesture to emphasize his message. While such was the character of his ordinary ministrations it was especially at the Lord's table that his power manifested itself, when he seemed to forget everything, but the presence of his Master. His impassioned appeals, his glowing yet chastened eloquence, made the hearer almost feel as though "a door was opened in heaven."

This attractive power others of his brethren possessed in a very high degree. After the lapse of seventy years I can recall the Rev. James Robson,—his very attitude and look—as I saw him on a Sabbath morning, "serving a table." His face seemed radiant as he poured forth with almost apostolic fervour and tenderness those grand truths which circle around the Cross, and have a specially refreshing influence at such a solemn yet delightful hour. With boyish wonder I have sat and gazed—I see him now—at his uplifted countenance, as if he would penetrate the land afar off, and tell his hearers what his faith beheld there. Those holy days were memorable days, and often have I heard them recalled by the old people with a rapture that told how deep had been their influence. On entering the sanctuary on such a Sabbath a scene presented itself strikingly illustrative of the brotherhood of the House of God, and which produced an impression influencing my



SECESSION CHURCH, STEWARTON, 1776



THE MANSE, STEWARTON

whole life. That slavery existed in Nova Scotia is not generally known. Years before that Communion Sabbath a female slave was owned by a party in Pictou, and formed, without objection or disgrace, a part of his property. This coming to the knowledge of the Rev. Dr. McGregor, he, at a very great sacrifice, purchased and liberated the woman, paying the sum of fifty pounds to her owner. This woman with her husband, George Mingo, became a member of the Pictou congregation, and at the present time, a daughter of that old couple, far advanced in life, Abbie Mingo, is a consistent member of the First Church, Truro. Knowing something of the prejudice against their race, and having somehow imbibed the common feeling against their free association with white people, what was my astonishment on entering the Church to see seated at the foot of the Lord's table, first Dr. McGregor, then old black George, next to him Mr. McCulloch, then old Dinah. What would a Southern American?—what would some of the dainty Christians of today say to that? Christ's true followers would add to the apostolic "neither bond nor free," an emphatic "neither white nor black," and would honour the man, forgetting colour, in brotherly fellowship at the Lord's table.

On July 27th, 1799, Mr. McCulloch was married to Isabella, daughter of the Rev. David Walker, minister of the "Auld Light" Burgher congregation of Pollokshaws, near Glasgow. She traced her descent on her mother's side from a Huguenot, named Nicolas Deschamps, who fled to Scotland with his young daughter, Heloise, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, settled at Cathcart, and established a paper mill, said to be the first in Scotland. The proprietor of the present works pointed out to the writer the remains of the original mill in the shape of two stone arches.

(Heloise Deschamps married James Hall, one of whose direct descendants, Helen Hall, became Mrs. David Walker. To quote again from "Rambles Round Glasgow," "Church-yard poetry is seldom worth the perusal—the simple green mound, without a line to tell whose dust is mouldering below, making a more eloquent appeal to the heart than the most

elaborately sculptured monument, or the most high sounding epitaph. Yet we must say that when, having with some difficulty brushed aside the long rank grass, we read the following lines, we felt a thrill as if a voice from the lowly mansion at our feet were whispering the words in our shrinking ear. The inscriptions are on a couple of the stones lying side by side, and covering the ashes of several generations of a family named Hall, who resided when in life at Cathcart Mill. On the one stone, dated 1689, is inscribed:

“Time’s rapid stream we think doth stand,
While on it we’re blown down
To a vast sea which knows no land,
Nor e’er a shore would own;
In which we shall for ever swim,
Blest through eternity,
Or sink below wrath’s dreadful stream,
In deepest misery.”

On the other stone, which bears date of 1782, the following is traced:—

“A foe death is not to the just and good
Though he appear to us a porter rude:
But faithful messenger and friendly hand
To waft us safely to Immanuel’s land;
There, with pure untold pleasure to behold,
The joys of heaven, and brightness of our Lord.
To which none entered in these fields of bliss,
But by the gate alone of righteousness,
Not of our own, indeed, but of another—
The anointed Christ, our friend and elder brother.
“O Melibaeae! Deus nobis haec otia fecit.”

The following story told to descendants in recent years by a local historian, Mr. Alex. Sweet, is worth recording. On the arrival of Nicolas Deschamps at Cathcart the inhabitants viewed him with some suspicion, proof of his Protestantism not being very clear to their minds. Nor were they satisfied until he betook himself to the Parish Church and cursed the Pope!

Mrs. David Walker was a sister of the Rev. Dr. James Hall of Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh, and Rev. Robert Hall of Kelso. Her father feued the site for the first Secession "meeting" at Glasgow, and another member of the family sold land for the first Secession Church at Kirkintilloch. James, the only son of the Rev. David Walker, emigrated to Canada in 1819. On the vessel with him and his family were the parents of the late Sir John A. MacDonald. He settled in the Province of Quebec, teaching school for some time at Terrebonne, later residing in the neighborhood of Bowmanville, Ontario, where his son-in-law, Mr. Robert Fairbairn, and his grandson, the late Mr. James B. Fairbairn, held the position of postmaster in succession for the long period of seventy-eight years.

In this connection it may be of interest to give some extracts from an account written by Mr. Walker, illustrative of conditions in Scotland at the time of his coming to Canada.

"In the year 1819, the distress in Scotland, owing to the failure of trade, which had been carried to a most amazing extent, and to other causes, was extremely great. People of the common ranks in life were on the brink of starvation..... Many families did not eat as much in a couple of days as would have made an ordinary meal in times of plenty..... A man who had a wife and five children, and who was like the rest of the hosiers, restricted to five shillings a week, fell a victim to hunger. I attended his funeral; many instances of death from want were reported to have occurred in Glasgow. Those in the country generally were not pressed so hard by difficulties, for which various reasons might be assigned. There also distress, however, was very great. The stagnation was not confined to the weaving alone, all other trades were depressed. Many hundred wrights were idle in Glasgow, and hundreds of masons, shoemakers, and tailors. The people were parading the streets begging bread. Calico printing, a very expensive business in Scotland, was knocked in the head. There were only three print fields in all the country employed, two belonging to Mr. Dalgleish..... and a field at Perth. In this situation of things some factious demagogues took advantage of the situation of the public mind, and by

specious arguments and pretences contrived to make the people look upon the government as the cause of all their misfortunes, and to such a degree were they excited that in some places, as in Paisley and Port Glasgow, they broke out in riots, and nothing was wanted but leaders and money to start a rebellion. In this state of things, consulting with my wife and my own mind, we determined to sell our property and emigrate to Canada..... We left Greenock on the "*Earl of Buckinghamshire*," on the 11th of May, 1820, and landed at Quebec the end of June."—Eds.

Of Mr. and Mrs. McCulloch's religious life there is little to say beyond the evidence of its reality afforded by a long career of self-denying discharge of the duties to which, in leaving home with all its privileges, they had consecrated themselves. Their personal religious experience was a subject of which they never spoke to their children, though the lessons taught by it became ours as really as if we knew the hidden source from which these lessons sprung. Example, instruction, counsel, and firm, though gentle rule, helped to mould our lives. Of our mother it may be enough to say that she was all that could be desired in a parent. Her character as a Christian did not manifest the bustling discipleship of today, but was of the kind that regarded divinely appointed duties, and not self-made ones, as possessing the first claim. Gentle, cheerful, and hopeful, she tried to cultivate in her family the same spirit; she bore with patience the toils and privations of a minister's home in Nova Scotia, ever looking to see if there was not some bright side to the darkest cloud, and hoping for better times. Often have I heard her say, "To those who trust in God no cloud is without golden fringe, though it often requires the eye of strong faith to detect." She died in Halifax Oct. 9th, 1847, aged seventy-seven years. As was her life so was its close. At evening time it was light. The writer has stood beside many a dying bed, but seldom has it been his privilege to witness the same abiding trust. Standing by her side, believing that her warfare was over, I gently laid my hand upon her forehead and touched her eyes. Once more those eyes unclosed, and gazing for a moment upon those around with a look of intense longing, she quietly passed away.

Hallowed memories have long served to smooth for her children many a rough path, and sweeten many a bitter cup.

As the result of his many labors Mr. McCulloch was much withdrawn from that familiar intercourse so precious to a family. Yet there were times snatched from his duties when his presence in the home was a delight and a benefit. Such was especially the case at our Sabbath evening exercises, and family worship. When sent to the woods for the cows how we hurried back to join in the singing of the old hallowed tune "Cole-shill," always the tune on Sabbath evenings. He never preached to, or at his children. The Bible idea of "sitting in the house, or walking by the way," was his rule. Generally some pithy remark conveyed what he wished to teach, and once uttered it was left to do its work. For example, finding me employed at banking the house, he stopped and remarked, "I never yet saw a young man who tried to do right, but God brought him out right in the end." It was a brief remark and perhaps soon forgotten by him, but it exercised an important influence on my after life.

In the power of prayer, or rather in the readiness of his Heavenly Father to meet the heart's desires, he had unbounded confidence. His prayers were marked by comprehensiveness, brevity and simplicity, and seemed the communion of a confiding child with a loving present Father. They dealt with phases of human character, and elements of christian life that could be understood only through the Spirit's teaching. What he was in prayer he was in active life, a firm believer in a personal Providential superintendence. Anxiety as to his worldly future never led him to swerve from the path marked out for himself. Of the wisdom of his course his adopted country must judge.

At no period of Church history has the gospel ministry been, from a worldly standpoint, an attractive occupation. The support of the gospel has never been the labor of love that Christ demands, or that a christian people promises. In the early days of the Secession in Scotland her adherents were not among the wealthy; they were men struggling for existence, through whose hands gold and silver seldom passed. They were

thus ill fitted to sympathize with the necessities of their pastors, or to understand the social position and wants of a class which had sprung from their own firesides. Beside, the support of the gospel was an entire novelty to men who failed to realize that indirectly, yet not less really, they had been contributing to its support all their lives. Congregations were small, calculations of ability to maintain ordinances were keen, and too often at the expense of the minister. The salary as cash seemed enormously large in contrast with the amount of money passing yearly through a farmer's hands, and the result has ever been, and still is, unfavorable to the payment of a fair, honest, stipend; christians forget that in their trades and farms they have many resources which represent cash. It was so in Scotland, and is so today in Nova Scotia. The pastor is expected to live by faith,—faith in congregational integrity,—a quality that often left the meal barrel to be filled by other hands than theirs, and which too frequently, like Job's brooks, dried up under the scorching sun of human selfishness. Said an elder at a Presbyterial visitation in Nova Scotia in 1861, whose part of the congregation contributed the munificent sum of one hundred and sixty dollars, "I cannot see how they manage to spend such a sum as that in a year," yet that pastor had, in addition to family expenses, to keep a horse and waggon, maintain his position as a gentleman, contribute to every religious and benevolent object, and use hospitality to all comers. Failing in all this he would be considered "mean," when in fact the supposed meanness was the effect of the meanness of his people, and of an effort on his part to be honest.

After a pastorate of four years, inadequate support led to Mr. McCulloch's resignation of his charge at Stewarton. Urgent appeals were being made to the Secession Church for ministers to labor in America, and of these he may have known, but at the time of demitting his charge he had no fixed purpose beyond going out, "not knowing whither." Such was his people's unwillingness to lose his services, that in the hope of inducing him to alter his mind, they unanimously refused him the means of removal, for which kindness he was indebted to outsiders.

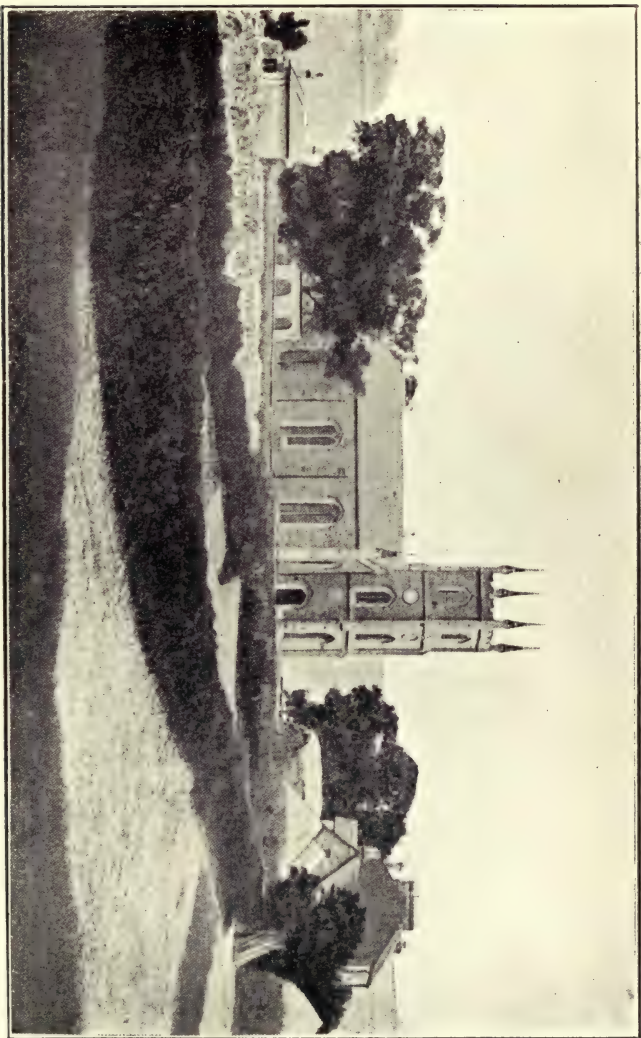
At this period the circumstances of the British Colonies were attracting a good deal of attention in Scotland, and generally throughout Europe. This was particularly the case with the Secession Church in Scotland, and was the result of extensive emigration to the Western world. Scotsmen then did not forget either God's day or God's house, and felt in their far off homes the want of the Sanctuary. Silent Sabbaths were not to their taste, and in their letters to friends at "home," as they still loved to call dear old Scotia, their greatest cause of grief was the want of gospel ordinances. All this aroused interest, but the Secession Church was feeble, demands at home were urgent, America was a far off land, and to the seeker of personal comfort the prospect was dreary. Consequently the aid, while not entirely withheld, took no decided form until the settlement of the Rev. Daniel Cock in Truro in 1772. That settlement gave a reality to the connection of the Secession with the Provinces, yet long weary years of waiting and watching elapsed ere Mr. Cock's heart was gladdened by the arrival of the Rev. James McGregor, whose letters to friends at home aroused the Church to the remembrance of almost forgotten brethren. Awakened by the earnestness of these appeals, feelings of deep sympathy led not a few to follow their countrymen to a foreign land.

CHAPTER III.

Farewell to Scotland and First Days in New Scotland.

After Mr. McCulloch's removal from Stewarton he was engaged for a time in supplying vacancies, but ultimately deciding to come to America he offered his services to the Synod, prepared to go wherever the brethren might think best. Finally he was appointed to Prince Edward Island, and in August 1803, he sailed from the Clyde, with his wife and three small children, in almost total ignorance of the country whither he was going. The parting with friends at home was exceedingly painful, as reunion on earth was very unlikely. Each was leaving an aged parent, and the home of youth, yet their trust in the promise never failed; they felt that they were being led by a wisdom never at fault, and that was enough. The voyage was long and stormy, and not till the 3rd of November did the vessel arrive at Pictou. Before reaching land the weather became intensely cold, and when they entered the harbor the vessel was thickly coated with ice. Accommodation for crossing the ocean, especially in lumber ships, was at that time of the scantiest possible character, and must have led to a long lingering remembrance of comforts left behind.

Much has been written of the life to which missionaries are exposed, and with many features of that life the early pioneers did not come in contact, but they felt the want of some advantages enjoyed by our foreign workers. No central body watched over their welfare with parental interest; no fixed income relieved their minds in anticipation of the future; no mission boxes, evidences of the Church's affection, cheered their hearts; and no stated intercourse with the Church at home made them feel that they were not forgotten. These remarks are not designed to undervalue the sacrifices of those who have gone to the dark places of the earth, but to do justice to the memory of men to whom the Colonies owe so much, and whose very names are in danger of being forgotten.



THE PARISH CHURCH, CATHCART

So painful was the mother's experience on the sea that even the dreary forests and snows of Nova Scotia were hailed with joy. But hard as was the ocean life, the prospect on shore was not reassuring. Coming from a land of towns and villages, and from all the surroundings of social life to the boundless woods, deep snow, and intense cold of 1803, when the climate was characterized by a steadiness of severity now almost a tradition, the outlook must have been sufficiently disheartening. Beside this, to reach Prince Edward Island, they would have had to cross the Northumberland Straits to White Sands in the only available conveyance, an open boat. It will excite little surprise, that however anxious to fulfil his appointment, Mr. McCulloch shrank from committing his family to such a mode of transport at such a season. The danger was strongly urged by two gentlemen of the town, Messrs Dawson and Pagan, who visited them on board ship. The effect of their representations was to determine him to remain in Pictou during the winter, and in the spring to act in reference to Prince Edward Island as Providence might direct. The representations of Messrs. Dawson and Pagan, though well founded, were not wholly disinterested.

For some years Dr. McGregor and Rev. Duncan Ross had labored in the district, but with all their devotedness and zeal, there were long intervals between their visits to the widely scattered settlements. The people of Pictou hailed Mr. McCulloch's arrival as a seasonable aid in supplying their needs, though at the expense of those to whom he was missioned. A seemingly trifling circumstance confirmed them in their purpose. On board the ship the visitors had seen in the minister's possession a pair of globes, which discovery seems to have given them a high opinion of the owner. This circumstance, so trivial in itself, led to results unanticipated by any of the parties, results not yet exhausted. Had the voyage not been so long, Prince Edward Island would have been the scene of his life's work, but the voyage, the "globes," and other matters were but parts of a Providential arrangement. What further influence was brought to bear upon him is unknown, but as the winter passed away he made up his mind to remain in Pictou, whether with

or without the concurrence of the Church at home I am unable to say.

During the winter he engaged earnestly in ministerial work as far as care for his family would permit. What that care involved will be learned from subsequent parts of these reminiscences. On landing in Pictou the family occupied what would in these days be called a shanty or hut, on the street leading down to Deacon Patterson's wharf, but so miserable was the accommodation that it was almost a choice between the house and the snow covered street. After considerable difficulty a change, if not improvement, was made by removing to what was known afterward as "McIntyre's house." It stood on Water St., two doors east of Robert Dawson's stone store. Though more pretentious, it was like the first, a mere shell. The house was designed for two families, but the partitions were mere unplanned boards with cracks so wide that the doings of one family were the common property of the other. On one occasion, a friend happening in after tea, a game of back gammon was proposed. This was soon known to the adjoining family, perhaps by spying through the chinks, and horrified at such conformity to the world, and perhaps, as is too often the case, pleased to get a story to retail about the minister, the report soon spread. It excited no little commotion, and but for the prudence of the new arrivals, might have led to unpleasant results, as an illustration of the tendency to make the minister's doings supply the place of social conversation.

Mr. McCulloch was duly called by the congregation at Pictou, or, as it was then called, "the Harbour," and inducted into what is now Prince St. Church on the 6th of June, 1804. The town, so called, consisted of some fourteen houses, while the rest of the congregation were scattered through the surrounding country. The stipend promised was £150 currency, but as the Rev. James Robertson, of Edinburgh, remarks in his "History of the Mission of the Secession Church to Nova Scotia." "it was seldom fully, and always irregularly paid." With untiring energy he devoted himself to the

welfare of his people, imitating in this the example of his apostolic brethren, Messrs McGregor and Ross.

✓ His medical training becoming known, incessant demands were made upon his time, though they failed to increase his income. Often called to homes miles distant, his feet were his only conveyance, unless the applicant owned the luxury of a horse. To expect remuneration would have been to ruin his character and usefulness.

Pictou was beginning at that time to attract a considerable share of the lumber trade, and to the minister many a seaman was indebted for restored health. Being in Cape Breton many years ago the writer was sent for to see a dying sailor. His first enquiry was, "Are you a son of Dr. McCulloch of Pictou?" Replying "I am," he stated that in the year 1806, while in command of a vessel bound for Quebec, he was seized with a dangerous malady, and being informed at Canso that there was a physician at Pictou, he bore up for that port. His case yielded to care and skill, and he was sent rejoicing away. He was anxious to ascertain if any relation subsisted between his benefactor and myself, and if so to express his grateful remembrance of kindness received.

This medico-ministerial life continued for some years, until a regular practitioner settled in the town. As may be supposed Mr McCulloch's withdrawal from this branch of work was an unpopular step, as both advice and medicine had been given gratis. The extent of the demand on a doctor in those days may be learned from the fact that the first practitioner in Pictou had often to travel to Truro, Nine Mile River, Rawdon, and surrounding localities, sometimes on foot, sometimes passed along from one farmer to another, when a horse could be obtained. In these days a spirit of mutual helpfulness prevailed among the scattered dwellers of the forest that does not seem to have increased with increase of means. They were more like brothers than mere neighbors, prepared to bear each others' burdens, and share each others' trials.

The salary promised by the people of Pictou, if regularly paid, might have met bare necessities. For superfluities it left no margin. Such a thing as the purchase of a new book

was almost unknown. Every article was dear, except rum, and the minister, having nothing to barter, the balance on the traders' books had to be met by cash, and was too often on the wrong side, though, to do the business men justice, few were exacting. Arising from the mode of stipend paying in Scotland under the Establishment, settlers failed to realize the responsibility of their new position. Others there were who thought that ministers, Elijah-like, should rely on heaven. But ravens had not found a congenial clime in Nova Scotia, and bread and meat were almost as scarce as in the olden times. Robertson says again, in writing of Mr. McCulloch, "It was not his custom to speak of himself, but we have seen a letter of his in which he says, "Dr McGregor and Mr. Ross passed through many a stipendless day, and I have had to borrow the loaf which was to feed my little family on Sabbath." Snow often covered the ground from November, or even mid-October, until April or May. During this long period a constant supply of fuel was as necessary as food. Coming from a country in which laborers were not scarce to where they were few, he had to undergo the apprenticeship of the early settler who must become skilled in all kinds of handicraft. The handling of an axe was among the acquirements of his new position. To quote again from Robertson; "Labor was dear, so that there was no alternative for Dr. McCulloch but to work or starve. Hence, for many winters, he was known to spend two or three days of the week during the severe season in procuring firewood for his family." In this I am not aware that his lot differed materially from that of his brethren, indeed from what I have heard I am inclined to think that still greater difficulties fell to the lot of some, especially Messrs. Cock and Smith.

After residing for some time in the McIntyre house a small lot, twelve acres lying west of the town, was purchased from Mr. Edward Mortimer, and not long after the question of building was mooted. The spot selected was on a rising ground about a hundred yards north of the old post road, and a quarter of a mile from the town. It commands a beautiful view of the harbour with its three affluents, as they unite and form the main channel directly opposite, though the outlook was

then somewhat monotonous, the almost unbroken forest descending to the water's edge. Altogether it was, and is, one of the prettiest spots in the neighborhood, the forest being well replaced by cultivated homesteads.

To erect a wooden structure was the height of Mr. McCulloch's ambition, and while hesitating even as to that, his difficulties were, for a time removed very unexpectedly, only to be as unexpectedly revived. A merchant of Pictou had imported a quantity of bricks, partly as ballast, partly on speculation. Finding them unsaleable, he offered them to the minister as a gift. The question of material thus settled, steps were taken to proceed with the building, which was finished in 1806, and is still standing. It was a storey and a half high, and the doors and windows were relieved by facings of free stone, presenting a compact, comfortable appearance. When the house was completed, and the inmates were rejoicing in a home of their own, they were astonished by a demand for payment of the bricks for which they had given thanks to the generous donor.

In 1803 the country might have been styled a wilderness, though fifty four years had elapsed since Halifax was settled. Roads, if they could be so called, were few, and of the worst description. In the modern sense they did not exist. As a rule, locomotion was on foot, or by boat or canoe. Horses were few, and the owner of one was "somebody." Years elapsed ere Mr. McCulloch possessed one, and a carriage or sleigh he never owned, though, as a preparation, he bought a harness. In those days neighbors seemed to have a prescriptive right to each others' goods, and so inveterate was the habit of borrowing that before a carriage could be obtained the harness was worn out in the public service. Experience and want of means forbade a second effort, and on foot or on horseback he performed his journeys. To the pastors of the present, with their facilities of travel, and many material and social comforts a plain history of what was endured eighty years ago would be deemed the paintings of fancy.

Mr. McCulloch never could manage snowshoes as did Dr. McGregor, of whose exploits in that line may be recorded an

anecdote. "One midwinter afternoon when the snow lay very deep," said my informant, "a person entered my smiddy with his snowshoes in his hand, and requested permission to warm himself. After doing so he swept the ashes from the anvil and laid his handkerchief thereon with some provision which he carried in his pocket. Having asked God's blessing and partaken, he resumed his snowshoes, and started for the East River, a distance of fourteen miles." He told my informant that he had been up the St. John River, I think he said as far as Fredericton, preaching Christ to the solitary dwellers in the wood, a feat of missionary labor not often surpassed. Such was Dr. McGregor! A man of apostolic zeal.

Truly such men went forth in faith, for they had little money in their purses, and many of their people were in the same condition. The relation of those ministers to the people and their claims upon them the following anecdote will illustrate. A member of Dr. McGregor's congregation lamenting to my brother the degeneracy of the times was asked in what respect they had degenerated. "Ah!" said he, "when Dr. McGregor did live there was plenty preaching and nothing to pay." This class of gospel hearers is not likely to be soon extinct.

Mr. Edward Mortimer, whose name has been already mentioned, was one of a class common in early colonial history, men possessed of small capital who settled in some outport favourable for lumbering, and by dint of energy rose to wealth and influence. Early in life he left Scotland, and after some years in the service of Messrs Liddell and Co., Glasgow and Halifax, he removed from Halifax to Pictou as their agent, becoming subsequently a partner in the business, which in a few years fell almost entirely into his own hands. Success and the weakness of competitors led him to assume an attitude of superiority, and of antagonism to any attempting to share with him the business of the place. Of such men the history of the Provinces affords many examples,—men who regarded preoccupation as conferring a right to treat new comers as poachers upon their domain. Many an interesting story of this regal disposition is still floating about.

Mr. Mortimer was a man capable of taking a wide range of

view, and had he received a more thorough training, and fallen on different times, whether as a business man or a legislator he would have left his mark. While his liberalism rested on views in advance of his day, it was not slightly tinged by personal antagonism to Halifax officials. Those men whom office and emolument made so loyal, were jealous of his growing wealth and the political influence arising from his character, and independence of thought, and deeming the growing importance of the outports a danger to Halifax, as independent thought was a danger to public order, they tried to frown him down. His defeat of Mr. Wallace at the election of 1799 was never forgiven. It was felt not only as an insult to Halifax officialism, but as a personal injury.

✓ In Mr. Mortimer's co-operation in promoting education Mr. McCulloch found his worth. His sudden death in 1819 was a terrible shock. It was the loss of a friend in whose society he found relief from the toils of life, where opportunities of social intercourse were few and far between, and with whom he took counsel over those educational plans which occupied so much of his attention. Had he lived those plans might have resulted differently. As an advocate of civil and religious liberty his removal was a public loss. The evening after the funeral was one of Mr. McCulloch's dark seasons, and he never ceased to feel the loss the Province had sustained.

CHAPTER IV.

Plans for a Native Ministry—Difficulties and Controversies.

Very soon after his settlement in Pictou Mr. McCulloch's attention was turned to the religious destitution of the country, especially in view of increasing immigration. The existing supply of ministers was inadequate to the present demand; the removal of those on the field was only a matter of a few years at the longest; while reluctance to leave Scotland made the prospect of a supply of missionaries from that quarter very dark. How to solve this question became a matter of constant thought. When Providence has a purpose to serve, and the right time arrives, there is always sufficient provision made. So it was in this case, the agent was there, the means were in the hand of God, the hour only was required, and later that arrived.

As stated by himself the thought which led to the training of a native ministry came to him on this wise. While holding a diet for catechizing, as it was called, at the house of Mr. McQuarrie on Scotch Hill, in the year 1804, he was painfully impressed with the ignorance of Scriptural truth betrayed, especially by the younger part of his audience. While returning home, pondering the day's experience, he was led to ask himself what would be the result of the existing state of things if continued, and what could be done to supply the growing need—then, realizing the hopelessness of dependence upon the Church at home, could nothing be done among the young men of the Province, inured to the climate, and prepared for Christ's sake to brave the difficulties incident to Colonial ministerial life. The idea of a native ministry suggested itself like an inspiration, though how, in the state of the country as to material wealth, with the novelty of the idea, and the position of the Government toward dissent, as shown in the existence of the College at Windsor,—how the object was to be secured was the great question. All this, and the further question of how

his brethren would regard the idea, passed rapidly through his mind during the walk home of about four miles.

On reaching home he broached the subject to Mrs. McCulloch, and after long discussion it was agreed to leave the matter to divine direction. To submit his plan to the judgment of his brethren was the next step, but their opinion was not such as to afford encouragement. They regarded the proposal as "chimerical," the obstacles as many, and the time of realizing results so distant, that they thought it best to seek aid from Scotland. The time was not yet; lessons were to be taught; hence the project was for the moment abandoned, but to be revived under more favorable auspices. Perhaps the brethren were right, and it may be that over-anxiety begat over confidence.

There was much in the state of society to give force to the objections of the brethren. In 1804 the class of immigrants, with comparatively few exceptions, were satisfied with the simplest elements of education, and had no idea of providing for their children anything better than they themselves possessed. Nor had their thoughts been turned to consideration of the gross injustice of the Government toward Dissenters. They had not felt the iron hand of a Government holding dissent a disqualification for offices of emolument, and compelling applicants to forswear themselves by making it a *sine qua non*—that they must take the Sacrament in the Church of England; these things, with the fact of Mr. McCulloch being almost a stranger in the Province, for a time threw a cloud over the prospect. Disheartened, but not convinced, he circulated a tentative subscription list, but the issue was not favorable. This confirmed the views of the brethren, but had perhaps better results than if a large subscription had been obtained. The idea once suggested led to much discussion, as to the necessity of the case, the difficulties, its prospects of success and kindred questions, necessarily awakening the public mind to the unsatisfactory relations of the Government toward non-Episcopalians, particularly in the matter of education. In this way the public was prepared for decided action when the time arrived. The amount subscribed up to 1807

was only \$1156.00. For some years the matter rested, but not with its originator, to whom it suggested procedure that ultimately forced the church to act.

To understand the origin of the influence which operated so disastrously upon his life and work, and finally led to failure, it is necessary to advert to events which occurred previous to his arrival in Nova Scotia. In 1799 Mr. Michael Wallace was defeated by Mr. Mortimer in the election for the County of Halifax. From that period was dated his enmity to Pictou, and the commencement of the politico-ecclesiastical divisions which have been a disgrace to that county, and a deep injury to its social and religious interests. After the lapse of eighty-seven years those divisions still linger, telling by their existing character how bitter the past must have been. Feeble in origin, the spirit evoked by Mr. Wallace, and perpetuated by his influence, acquired an intensity almost incredible. There was in Pictou something more than a tradition that Mr. Wallace kept what was known as a "black book," in which were recorded the names of his opponents, and that to this list he was accustomed to refer when any application was made to the Government from Pictou. Certain parties in Pictou to whom Mr. Mortimer was obnoxious supported Mr. Wallace, and as he had much influence in official quarters those men became identified with the Government as antagonistic to the liberalism of Pictou. It is difficult to say how that liberalism originated; it seems to have sprung from that spirit of resistance to oppression inherent in human nature, rather than from any enlarged views of what are called liberal principles, but such a process merely requires a beginning to change and enlarge its ground as the mind passes from the individual acts of wrong to the study of the principles which underlie and regulate human rights. This is especially the case where wrong interferes with the sacred rights of conscience, as was found in the early history of Nova Scotia.

As a friend of Mr. Mortimer and known to be in sympathy with his views, though he never voted at elections, Mr. McCulloch was the object of Mr. Wallace's dislike, and hence, when his educational schemes were mooted they met his

persistent opposition. Though a Presbyterian, he played into the hands of the Episcopal party, influenced doubtless by his electoral disappointment, but chiefly by that political wisdom which leads men who prefer their personal interest to the welfare of their country to court the dominant party as the surest path to advancement. Such men could neither read the signs of the times, nor believe in the results of oppression, until they were suddenly confronted by a spirit which their conduct had aroused. Mr. Wallace lived to reap the harvest of his own sowing, and, with many others, to learn the irresistible power of aroused public opinion.

In the year 1807 a controversy arose between the Rev. Robert Stanser*, and the Rev. Mr. Burke, a Roman Catholic priest, afterward Bishop Burke. The origin of that controversy I cannot trace, but it turned upon the great questions separating Protestantism from Popery. Whether from the greater controversial ability of Mr. Burke, or his more thorough command of the literature of the subject, I am unable to say, but it was evident to the friends of Mr. Stanser that the Protestant cause required a different champion. At their request Mr. McCulloch stepped forward to join issue with Mr. Burke; as “Robertson’s History” gives it; “to defend the Protestant faith from the assaults of a skilful Popish adversary, and in this cause wrote two octavo volumes of surpassing merit.” All his spare moments were spent in examination of controversial works, making the necessary collations, and extracts, reducing them to form and fitting them for the press.

His first volume was entitled “Popery condemned by Scripture and the Fathers,” and was published in Edinburgh, by Pillans, in 1808. To this Mr. Burke published a reply, which called forth a second volume, entitled “Popery again condemned by Scripture and the Fathers,” published in 1810. Here the controversy ended, each party as usual claiming the victory. From Mr. McGavin of the “*Protestant*,” a Glasgow paper, and from the Bishop of Durham, the two volumes received high commendation. Some portions of the work may have only a local value, and it does not discuss the more recent developments of Romish thought, but it deals thoroughly with

*Rector of St. Paul’s Church, Halifax.

the Scriptural, patristic, and historical aspects of the question, and so fully as to cover any supplemental dogmata which the Pope might please to announce as matters of faith.

In his reply to the first volume Mr. Burke accused the writer of garbling his quotations, asserting that a certain passage was not to be found in the author quoted. In the second volume the correctness of the reference was reasserted, chapter and page being given. On meeting Mr. Burke some time after Mr. McCulloch asked him why he had denied the accuracy of his citation. To this he frankly replied that he had done so believing that he had not a copy of the author, so could not verify his quotation. Further, Mr. Burke believed that he had the only copy of the work in the Province. Mr. McCulloch's possession of this volume, together with a large number of other works of the early Fathers, seems to form a link in that providential equipment for his work which had been provided while as yet there was no sign of it ever being required. Part of these books came from his father-in-law's library, and part were the property of a deceased minister, and purchased at two-pence half-penny a pound.

The success of this effort to cover the retreat of Mr. Stanser from an unequal contest begat a quasi-friendship with the bishop of the day.* Still there were persistent attempts on his part to counteract educational schemes which involved the assertion of equal rights, as Pictou, eminently a Presbyterian and a Liberal county, was the only part of the Province where danger was to be feared. It is impossible to look back without regret to the possession of so much power by a man of such contracted views, set by his Sovereign to mould the intellectual and moral destinies of half a continent. By a policy consistent with the rights of his fellowsubjects he might have saved the country from years of strife, and rendered impossible that starved and ragged system of education now existing. There were persons of high standing in the Episcopal Church who sympathized with the struggle for equal rights; but the Bishop persisted in his plans, contrary to the advice of his best friends; his Lordship was neither a statesman nor a student of human nature, and without skill in reading the signs of the times. His procedure

*The Rev. Charles Inglis, D. D.

tended to fan the embers of discontent, of the extent or significance of which he never seemed to have any correct idea, as the spirit before which, in the future, as in the past, stereotyped notions and class interests were destined to go down. His views of Dissenters in his official correspondence, met public reprobation. In his annual report he assured the authorities in Britain of his conviction that the loyalty of the Province, and the prevalence of Episcopacy, were equivalent terms. His visitations of his diocese were frequently made in a ship of war, and in one of his letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he describes his landing at an outport under a salute, a statement originating the now long forgotten soubriquet of 'the cannon firing Bishop,' a name that did service amid the contentions of after days. Apart from the narrowness which the idea of an Establishment is apt to produce, Bishop Inglis was a man highly respected, of genial disposition, and thoroughly educated according to the English type of the times.

Previous to the year 1808 Mr. McCulloch, by appointment of Presbytery, had visited Halifax to minister to a small congregation of Scotsmen. Soon after a call was presented in his behalf to the Presbytery. Commissioners from Halifax and Pictou being heard, and the decision being left with the Court, it was agreed unanimously not to translate. The congregation of Pictou promised at this time to meet their obligations promptly, and to pay arrears, amounting to £120. This promise, apparently made through fear that he might prefer the brighter prospect of the calling congregation, carried no sense of responsibility.

In a worldly point of view matters in Pictou could scarcely be worse, and to one of Mr. McCulloch's tastes a position in the capital was of no small importance. His circumstances would have been improved, he would have found congenial society, paths of usefulness for himself and his family would have opened up, and he might have escaped much of the envy and malice which were his portion. On the other hand he was warmly attached to many of the people, and prized the society of his ministerial brethren. The unabandoned idea of

establishing an Institution for the training of a native ministry, of which on removal to Halifax there would be no hope, led him to believe that removal would be opposed to Providential purposes. Though it is useless to speculate upon the results of a translation, if we judge by consequences it seems plain that his views were correct.

In the year 1809, Sir George Prevost, the Governor of the Province, visited Pictou, and was received with all due respect. He was attended by Mr. Wallace, who it was supposed would rather have avoided contact with men who had clipped the wings of his ambition. Forced to associate with Mr. Mortimer, who entertained the Governor, he yet found his most congenial associates among the Tories. The result of that intercourse soon became apparent. During the Governor's stay a document impeaching Mr. McCulloch's loyalty was secretly concocted and presented to His Excellency. With the preparation and sentiments of that document it was generally understood that Mr. Wallace had more to do than appeared. It was not intended that the charge should be made public, or even be communicated to the accused, but that it should do its work by exciting suspicion in the Governor's mind, and in some way expose the subject of it to the displeasure of the authorities.

On satisfactory evidence of the reception of such a charge by the Governor while in Pictou with Mr. Wallace, Mr. McCulloch at once addressed Sir. George in a firm and respectful statement in which he says:

"About six years ago, by the unanimous choice of the inhabitants of this town I was settled over them as their pastor, and as far as I know no friend of religion or good order has expressed dissatisfaction. Among the new inhabitants there are three or four who have seen fit to dissent from the choice of the rest, and as far as their influence extends, to destroy my usefulness as a clergyman, and to injure my reputation. Some of them, I have reason to suspect from their language subsequent to your visit, have endeavored to impress your Excellency with unfavorable ideas of my character as a public teacher of religion. It has been their constant practise to try and injure me in the opinion of occasional visitors by insinuations of disloyalty to His Majesty's Government. This opinion they could not form

from personal acquaintance, nor from private conversation, for I must use the liberty of saying to Your Excellency that they are men whom no clergymen could class among his friends or acquaintances without lessening himself in the esteem of every person valuing purity of religious character. As far as I can learn their only reason for the imputation is that I am a Dissenter, and therefore disloyal. I believe that the grand cause of their opposition to me is neither regard for the purity of religion, nor attachment to His Majesty's Government, but simply that I enjoy the countenance of those who possess that influence among us to which they aspire. While these insinuations were confined to Pictou I deemed vindication unnecessary, but as since Your Excellency's visit they have reported that Your Excellency is dissatisfied with me and other clergymen as Dissenters, I consider it a duty that Your Excellency should have a fair statement of facts. I beg therefore to submit to your Excellency an attestation of my political principles which I trust will be found satisfactory. It is true that I am a Dissenter, but I cannot conceive that that should imply disaffection to the British Constitution. The right of private judgment is the law of nature, and secured to every British subject. I belong to a body whose views for eighty years have been open to inspection, and who refuse to tolerate a member disloyal to our Sovereign. We pray for his prosperity, and it will readily occur to Your Excellency that attachment to just principles can never tend to make bad members of society. I hope Your Excellency will pardon this intrusion. It proceeds from a desire to protect a reputation which I have done nothing to forfeit, and to share in that approbation which Your Excellency bestows indiscriminately on every quiet member of Society."

The "attestation" above mentioned was a complementary document signed by the Justices of the district, and was designed to meet secret slanders. That such a document should be deemed necessary may excite surprise, but only when the long past is judged by the present. Had it not been for the state of the times and his anxiety to smooth the way to his ulterior object, he would either have treated the slander with contempt, or dealt with it on higher grounds, well aware that the blow dealt at him was in reality aimed at civil rights and liberty.

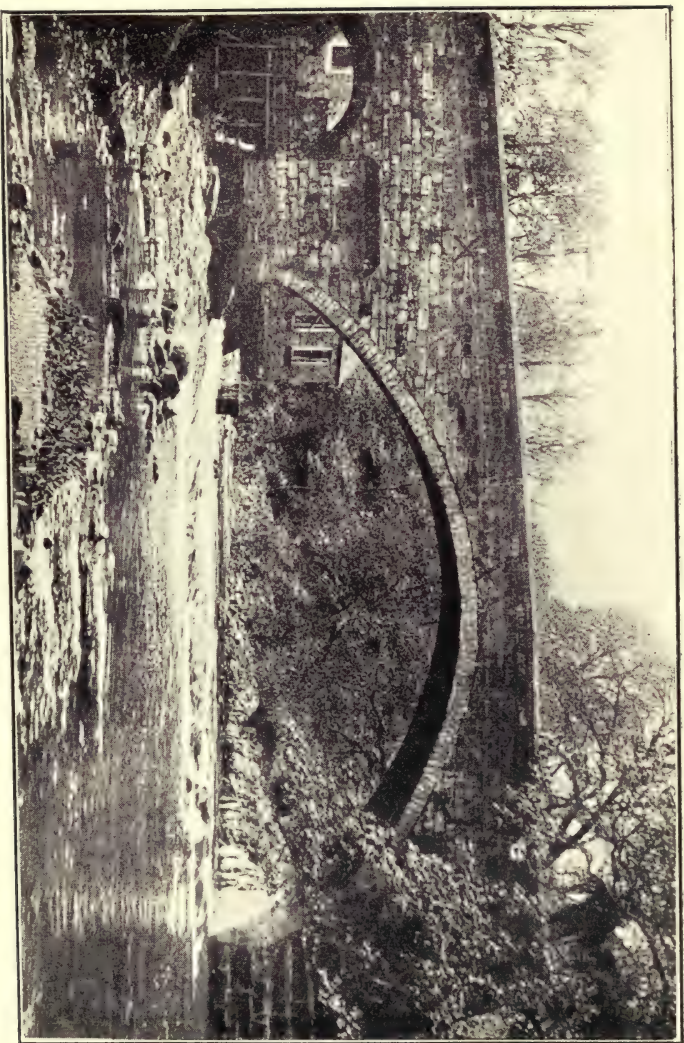
The Memorial carefully avoided everything offensive, yet contained some truths commonplace today, but sufficiently

independent to be startling to Colonial absolutists, by whom the Governor was surrounded. Of these Mr. Wallace was the most pronounced, treating the House of Assembly with sovereign contempt. One specimen will suffice. When Judge Croke administered the government, the Assembly having refused to grant an appropriation which he desired, he submitted to his Councillors the question, "whether the Governor could draw money out of the Treasury without an Appropriation Act or not," and further as to his power to draw on the Treasury independent of the Assembly. Mr. Wallace was the only Councillor who voted in the affirmative. The disposition indicated by this vote explains many acts of his after life, both official and private.

Judge Croke was a noted absolutist, of which Windsor College is today an evidence. Such was his estimate of official power, and the feebleness of public sentiment, that whenever it was safe popular rights went to the wall. In carrying out his views he always found a firm supporter in Mr. Wallace. It need excite no astonishment that colonists should be cautious when officials prostituted their power to secure personal revenge.

Neither Mr. McCulloch nor any of his friends ever saw the accusation sent to the Governor, and whether it was acknowledged is not known, as no reference to a reply has been found among his papers. The Memorial was an official document and in the ordinary course of business required an acknowledgment. It may be that Mr. Wallace's friends, finding from the crushing reply to their accusation that they had made a mistake, secured its suppression, or that His Excellency was unconvinced, and that plain speaking had given dissatisfaction. That the last seemed the most plausible explanation a circumstance which occurred not long after His Excellency's visit would appear to indicate. This was the receipt of a communication from Halifax couched in language sufficiently red-tapish to satisfy Mr. McCulloch of its origin, and destitute of the writer's name.

This precious document advised, almost commanded, him, if he studied his own welfare, to leave the country with as



SITE OF PAPER MILL, CATHCART



little delay as possible, plainly hinting that, if he did not, action from a higher quarter would be taken to compel him. This the writer had from his own lips. The note was so carefully drawn that while there could be little doubt of its origin, there was no possibility of bringing it home to the Government, though it bore internal evidence of the hand of the defeated of Pictou.

To bow to authority sustained by law, was ever with him one of the duties of a Christian, but nothing would induce him to cringe before the illegal exercise of power, and hence he treated the order with little respect. The authors of the disloyalty accusation were well known in Pictou, as men who would shrink from nothing to accomplish their object. Whatever effect was produced upon His Excellency's mind, in his private intercourse he gave no sign. Though there are references in correspondence with friends to the above mentioned mandate, it has not been found among private papers.

During this period time was almost wholly engrossed in teaching and pastoral duties, often in exchanging with brethren, and assisting at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. The celebration of the Communion was to the people a season of joyful anticipation, as a reproduction of the open air communions in which, in the land of their fathers, many of them had united. In their new home, though the service itself carried their thoughts far away to the better land, still as they "called to mind the days of old," they could not fail to realize something of the Psalmist's melancholy memories as he sang, "By Babel's streams we sat and wept as Zion we thought on."

On such occasions tears coursed down the cheeks of many an aged pilgrim, as the scenes and companions of other days rose to view, scenes on which the eye would never again rest, and companions with whom they would never again "take sweet counsel, and walk to the House of God in company." Such memories, welling up in the soul of God's servant, and mingling, as it were, with the same feeling on the part of communicants at the table, aroused bursts of almost inspired eloquence. Around the table they felt as if once more they joined in the hillside worship of their native land, while with

loftier vision they saw "the land afar off," and "the king in his beauty." To hear those aged pilgrims speak of their experience of such seasons seemed like realizing the scenes and language of another clime. To Mr. McCulloch these were times of peculiar enjoyment, affording cheering intercourse with brethren; their mutual experiences of their Master's dealings in trials, difficulties, encouragements, and successes, calling forth words of counsel or sympathy, comforting and strengthening for future work.

CHAPTER V.

Foundations of Education in Nova Scotia.

In 1808 educational facilities in Nova Scotia were of the most meagre kind. The first school kept in Pictou had for its master a Mr. Glennie. He was succeeded by a Mr. Graham and he by a Mr. Logie, who had been a bailie in Edinburgh. Education was then largely a matter, not of instruction, but of memory and birch rod. If a youth had ambition to excel he must depend upon himself, otherwise he must be contented with very small things. Yet when the encouragement and remuneration are considered, surprise ceases. Fees were very small, the teacher was his own collector, payment was frequently made "in kind," and was something which the parents could neither use nor sell, and valued at two prices; beyond what enabled children to read the Bible, write a letter, or calculate a bargain, parents seemed to regard education as costing more than it was worth. There were few openings to a higher position in life to tempt a boy to study, or to induce parents to forego the manual labor of their sons.

As it was in the United States before the Revolution, a privileged class occupied every position of honour or gain, and for a "clodhopper," as he was termed, to seek to enter the charmed circle was deemed a piece of impertinence and treated accordingly. A son was regarded as the natural heir of the office held by his father, just as of his personal estate; the absence of brains was no disqualification. The necessity of the hour demanded an awakening of the public mind to the value of education, independent of its secular or money worth, and a corresponding awakening of the governing mind to meet a want on the supply for which the progress and welfare of society depended.

As far back as 1780 the question of how to meet the educational needs of the sparse and widely scattered population of the Province had engaged the attention of the government. It was resolved to establish in Halifax what might be called a

High School, with the munificent endowment of one hundred pounds for the Principal, and when the pupils numbered forty, a further sum of sixty pounds for an assistant. In 1782 a grant of four hundred acres of land for a school at Windsor passed the Legislature. In 1787 a grant of two hundred pounds sterling, for the Principal, and one hundred for a Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, were voted by the Assembly, in support of a contemplated Institution of a higher grade.

The influences under which this Institution originated may be understood from the proviso that Windsor must be the locality, and the Principal an Episcopalian. The treatment which drove a loyal people to rebellion was being blindly reproduced, in the attempt to smother free thought, by providing a College where the doctrine of human rights would certainly form no part of the curriculum. In voting the sums of one and two hundred pounds sterling, the object was twofold—to provide an institution where, as the term was then understood, a liberal education might be obtained, and to prevent the youth of the Province being contaminated by the liberalism of United States Colleges. The Assembly expressed their apprehensions of evil by the resort of our young men to the States, lest they should imbibe principles unfriendly to the British Constitution, and as an antidote recommended an annual grant of £400 for the salaries of the Institution, suggesting as Trustees, the Bishop, the President of the Council, and the Speaker of the Assembly. Such was the origin of King's College. The College was designed by the Assembly to be unsectarian, but the idea that none but Episcopalians could be entrusted with any important position led to the legal restriction of the Principalship, as well as the Trusteeship, to a particular denomination.

The next step was to obtain a Royal Charter empowering the Governors to enact by-laws, and make such arrangements as they deemed suitable. The Institution was open to non-Episcopalians at this time, the only obstacle to attendance being the expense. On the appearance of the by-laws, a MS. copy of which lies before me, they were found to be so exclusive

that four-fifths of the youth of the Province were debarred the privileges of the College unless they outraged conscience by swallowing Episcopal tests. The by-laws were generally understood to be the work or inspiration of Judge Croke, one of the most bitter antagonists of dissenters, of whom Sir George Prevost remarks, "an able, though rather an unpopular character." That these statements are not overdrawn, extracts from the MS. amply prove. The Charter of the College provided that its statutes should accord with the Provincial laws. Both the letter and spirit of this provision were violated by the Governors. As a further security the by-laws were to be approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and if disallowed within three years, were to be void. This length of time was named on account of the uncertainties of intercourse with England, and the preoccupation of the Archbishop with more important affairs which might lead him to overlook such a distant and small matter. The third by-law recognizes the Archbishop's right of veto, but this proviso also was evaded. Every Professor and student was required to subscribe the Thirty-Nine Articles. The statutes contained the subjoined rules :

"No member of the University shall frequent the Romish mass, or the meeting houses of Presbyterians, Baptists or Methodists or the conventicles or places of worship of any dissenters from the Church of England, or whose divine services shall not be performed according to the liturgy of the Church of England, or shall be present at any rebellious or seditious meetings. No degree shall be conferred till the candidate shall have subscribed the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the three Articles of the Thirty-Ninth Canon of the Synod held in London in 1603."

Against the exclusiveness of these rules even the Bishop protested, though in vain. He had sagacity enough to see that they would arouse a public feeling that would go far to defeat his purposes. He brought them under the notice of the Archbishop, who resolved to expunge them, but whose wise purpose was frustrated by the action of the Governors, who thus ignored their own by-law of submission to his authority. In the MS. before me there are copies of the Provincial Act, of the

Royal Charter, and by-laws of the Governors, with critical remarks that do credit to the copyist, as penned in the days of arbitrary power, and Episcopal domination. Its compiler, whose name I do not give, but who stood in close relation to the College, writes of his work; "I have carefully and fairly copied what is written concerning the University and College of Windsor, Nova Scotia. I have added nothing of my own, nor diminished what is enacted and approved concerning that public Institution." His critical remarks to which I have referred, run thus:

"As to the chief or main part of this Seminary, I heartily approve. I observe on reading the statutes of the Institution designed for public utility, not only to this Province at large, but also to His Majesty's neighboring Provinces, that it is built upon a very narrow and contracted plan, which will, in a great measure defeat its design, as none but those of the Church of England can be its Professor or students. They must be of that denomination, and the Church of England is so interwoven with the constitution of the University that there is no separating the one from the other without destroying the whole fabric. To be fully satisfied of this we have only to read the statutes. It is true that the Church of England is the established religion of the Province, but that does not say that the whole of the people in the country, nor the major part of them, nor the half of them are of that persuasion. I do not believe though a trial should be made that one third of the people of the Province are of the Church of England, and it is certain that by far the greater part of the people are dissenters, and think themselves bound to be; then it is not to be supposed that they will readily send their sons to be educated where they cannot frequent or go to any other place of worship but the Church of England. Then we may conclude that those who framed the statutes have gone upon a wrong, a narrow, and contracted plan, because agreeable thereto the University can be of no benefit or service to the far greater part of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, and of course they defeat the design thereof, which was to be of public utility to the Province at large, but the utility will be much cramped by these statutes, and I have no doubt they have been of some hurt to the Seminary already, and if continued will do much more. I observe that the framers of the statutes have manifested a considerable degree of uncharitable, illiberal spirit toward other denominations of Christians, who think they have a right to differ from

the Church of England in some if not in many things, and would intimate to them by entirely debarring them from the benefits of the University that they are unworthy to be taught the arts and sciences." He then asks how the framers of these statutes would like their sons to be similarly debarred the benefits of education, and proceeds to contrast Windsor with the Scottish colleges.—"I know they would not debar for ecclesiastical differences of opinion—this to my personal knowledge, for at Kings College, Aberdeen, where I had my education, students of the Church of England were not so much as desired to attend the Established Church of Scotland, nor were Presbyterian students forbidden to go to the Church of England, when they asked liberty. Moreover the statutes appear to me to have a good deal of injustice attending them, because they deprived persons of the benefit of a Seminary which they contribute to support as much, and more, than those who do reap the benefit, as they are the more numerous, as the four hundred pounds for the support of that College is paid out of the Treasury, or out of the taxes on sugar, and if these are not sufficient, out of other taxes, which in a great measure, are paid by other denominations of christians than by the Church of England. It is certainly injustice to deprive them of the benefits which arise from their monies though differing from the Church of England."

These are the utterances of sound principles of social right, but they are more; they are the anticipations of a far-seeing mind, and the history of King's College has fully established their correctness. He appeals to the Governors to retrace their steps, and to place the Institution on a liberal basis, as an act of prudence and of justice, and as fulfilling the intentions of the Legislature. Judge Croke's statutes originated a condition of the public mind that made the College an object of jealousy and dislike. They aroused denominational antipathies, the extinction of which lies in the misty future. I refer to this subject not to revive the unpleasantness of the past, but for its bearing upon the life of the subject of these notes and as a key to those efforts and struggles in which that life was spent. Practically the Governors said to the men with whose taxes they were endowing the College, "Your children must grow up in ignorance unless you forsake the Church of your

fathers." If they expected that men who breathed the old Presbyterian spirit, whose ancestors set such a high value upon, and sacrificed so much to secure liberal education, would either accept these offers, or sit down quietly without a struggle for that to which they were entitled, they had yet to learn something of the sternness of that spirit in resisting oppression, as others before them had learned. A determination was aroused that if not at Windsor, then elsewhere, and if not by the aid of Government, then in spite of its opposition, their children should obtain a liberal education, and with them to determine was to act. Episcopacy was disestablished, and before the law became like other bodies, and the grant to King's College, so long perverted, was withdrawn.

Some time previous to this Mr. McCulloch had opened a class in his own house for more advanced training than was to be had in country schools. This later necessitated the erection of a building, which was placed at the north west corner of the homestead. It was of round logs fresh from the forest, and was thus a veritable "Log College." The chinks between the logs were filled with moss, requiring more or less of renewal every fall. In the centre of the building stood a large stove which subsequently did duty in the Church. There was also a mahogany table on which lay a pair of "taws." Though considered a higher school, from subjects taught, it came to be in fact a common school on which were grafted some of the branches pertaining to a Grammar school. Youngsters studying a-b-ab, and young lads reciting *qui, quae, quod*; children sily drawing pigs on their slates, and older ones trying to cross the "*Pons Asinorum*," all were there, giving, with the ceaseless hum of many voices, not, certainly the dignified character pertaining to a modern school, but with all the roughness of the building, and the absence of the aesthetic in the exercises, it marked a decided advance.

The character of the teaching soon spread throughout and beyond the Province, and pupils came from almost every county, from P. E. Island and Cape Breton, and no less than six were from different islands of the West Indies. All this threw upon the family a weight of responsibility, and an amount

of labor out of all proportion to the remuneration. Neither sufficient nor suitable board could be obtained in Pictou, and their resources were taxed to the utmost in providing adequate accommodation. To the back of the homestead was added a wooden building containing one large room used for dining and study, and dormitories for about sixteen boys. The accommodation was not, it is true, such as the modern student demands, but all appeared satisfied. The daily and nightly toils to which the parents were subjected were often the subjects of fire side talk among their children. Had they known then as they knew later the nature and extent of their difficulties, sunshine would have been expelled the house.

Some of the applications for admission to the school and home were of a rather curious character. A father in Kings County asks a place for his son, with the proviso that no attempt should be made to proselytize him. After years spent in the home that son left it more tolerant in his views, but as much a Baptist as ever. Among private papers have been found letters from parents full of excuses for non payment of board, and promises that were never kept. In view of this it will excite no surprise that income did not keep up with expenditure, especially when the cost of living is taken into account. One bill gives prices as follows,—tea, ten shillings a pound; sugar, fifteen pence; flour, forty shillings a hundred weight; nails, eighteen pence a pound, and so on in proportion. Some parents neglected to remit for clothing, and this the house had to supply, while sometimes there was unfitness to attend either school or church.

In the midst of this new work a circumstance occurred which cast a dark shadow over the prospect, and which to a mind less convinced as to providential oversight would have been disastrous. About midnight a cry of "fire" told that the "College" was in flames. When discovered the fire had gained great headway, and as there were no means of subduing it available, the building was soon a heap of ashes. Though very young at the time, the writer can remember the feeling of awe and excitement produced by the sight. The smouldering ashes were emblems of withered hopes, over which poor short-sighted

humanity might well shed a tear, but had there been given but a faint glimpse of the future, the loftiest utterances would have seemed all too feeble to express the feelings of the heart. For the moment God seemed to frown, and in that frown to rebuke the presumption of His servant, but He was only leading him by a way that he knew not to the object of his life's work. The burning of the school house was unquestionably the work of an incendiary. Party spirit, taken in connection with strictness of discipline in the Church, aroused the opposition of some of the very men whose sons were benefitting by its training. The classes had as usual been dismissed on Saturday at noon, and in the evening one of the family was in the building. About eleven o'clock Mr. McCulloch, as was his custom, had looked in and found all safe. A woman living in the neighborhood stated that shortly before midnight she saw a person carrying a lantern past in the direction of the house, and return in a few moments.

It was not his disposition to sit contemplating ruin without an effort, hence in this case the immediate enquiry was "what next?" The result was that the people were aroused to an effort to repair the loss, and thus to counteract the influence of the evil element in their midst. Very soon the log house was followed by a substantial frame building which stood on the north east corner of a large field owned by Mr. Mortimer, directly in line with the eastern boundary of the McCulloch homestead, and affording the pupils a magnificent playground, which before and after school hours they were allowed to occupy undisturbed. This is stated to place beyond doubt the spot where the first effort was made in Nova Scotia to promote higher education untrammelled by the spirit of sectarianism.

How sad and yet how pleasant the memories of those school days! The field is never passed but in fancy is seen again its happy, hurrying, shouting crowd, merry youths displaying their energies in mimic contests who in after years fought their battles on the field of life's realities. Of the many ardent joyous youths who sported upon that green the writer is one of the very few survivors. We took a real interest in each other's studies, aims and troubles, and as seat after seat

became vacant or was filled by a new comer, the old friendships were not forgotten.

Blackboards and other educational facilities had not yet reached Pictou; wonder was reserved for the curious diagrams drawn on pieces of planed pine board! Implicit obedience was rigidly exacted, with large allowance for youthful restlessness, provided there was no tendency to insubordination. Pupils were addressed and treated as young gentlemen, with a view to the formation of those habits of self-respect which enter so largely into the usefulness of after life. With regard to the use of the rod, Mr. McCulloch felt that it had a tendency to produce a sense of degradation, and that until all other means failed, it should not be used.

The monotony of school life was occasionally relieved by amusing interludes, such as a country wedding, when, as was the custom, the party came amply provided with cake and wine, or rum, as the case might be. On one such occasion, when the teacher was engaged at his desk, some of the party began treating the boys, and had made considerable progress, when the entertainment was stopped by his return to their midst, and much to the disgust of the unserved, was deferred "sine die." Once at such a celebration a countryman's horse broke loose, leaving the saddle behind, it being placed in the school till called for. One day the teacher was hurriedly called away for a short time. No sooner had he left than the boys took the floor, dragged the saddle out, and seizing the usher, forced him on his hands and knees, and saddled him. One mounted the steed, while another, leading him by the forelock marched him around the room, followed by an uproarious crowd. At the height of the fun, the teacher returned, and his look of amazement and displeasure, contending with amusement at the comical scene, can never be forgotten. All that he could say was, "Mr——!" and in a moment everything was quiet. Whatever was said to Mr.—— in private, no more notice was taken in school of the extraordinary escapade.

The boys loved that kindly man, and felt that years had not frozen up the early springs of life. They meant no act of disrespect, and would have done anything to make his life

pleasant. Years after that frolic he was present at a public examination of our Church Seminary at Durham, where he entered with zest into the work of the day, recalling his old occupation, as he questioned the students on their reading of the Greek poets. He had helped to prepare students for the Academy, had hailed its rise, witnessed its down fall, and believing that in our Seminary he saw its revival, he came a long distance in his old age to give its originators, some of whom he had taught in youth, the encouragement of his presence. Those who knew him as their teacher cherished for his memory an affectionate regard, and when word reached them that he was dead, many felt that they had lost one whose warm heart had made the days of school life pass pleasantly away. Good old man! Peace to his memory!

As in the history of all youthful life, our paths diverged widely, and many of us never met again. Some found a grave in the land of the stranger, some sleep quietly where their fathers rest, while others found their resting place in the ocean's depth. Honours crowned the brows of some, not a few left their mark for good on life's way, while there were those who yielded to evil surroundings, and made shipwreck of energies that might have produced precious results, and left hallowed memories. Dear boys! Their work is over, and the green sod and the foaming billow have hidden them from our sight until the grave and the sea give up their dead.

In 1811 the Government passed the Grammar School Act, which provided schools in seven counties of Nova Scotia, and in the three districts of Colchester, Pictou and Yarmouth. Of the Pictou school Mr. McCulloch was appointed a Trustee. The object of this was evident to himself and his friends. Having already an excellent school in operation, his educational standing could not be overlooked. On the other hand, he being a Trustee, would scarcely persist in keeping up one which would be antagonistic. A strong desire, had, however, been expressed that he should have charge of the new Institution, and this being communicated to His Excellency, Sir John Sherbrooke, he, with his known independence, at once cancelled the Trusteeship, and appointed him head teacher.

Though far short of the education which he had contemplated when broaching the idea of a Seminary, he saw the connection between a Grammar School and his favorite project. He felt that under authority, and with Government aid, and permission to add to the subjects what was "necessary or useful," he could give such training as would fit young men for a higher Institution if Providence should open the way for its establishment. He was assisted in his new work by his eldest son, Michael, who was appointed second teacher, and also for a short period, either in this or in the earlier school, by his nephew, Michael McCulloch of London, afterward a physician in Montreal, and one of the first Professors in the Medical College there. Messrs Timothy O'Brien, and William Fraser of East River at one time held positions in the School; the Trustees were Messrs E. Mortimer, Pagan and Dawson.

The method of instruction was not designed to make everything so plain as to leave no stimulus to personal exertion. The plan was to make the pupil self-reliant by developing his powers, and thus fitting him to grapple with difficulties as they arose, working out for himself details, and in the consciousness of latent power carrying on that self-educating process which forms the real education of life. This course not a few of the pupils followed out, and in after years regarded it as the main element of their success. Few dreamed of the uses to which Mr. McCulloch hoped to put the studies carried on in those early days. He was blamed for diverting youthful energies from useful objects, and exciting desires never to be gratified. Baffled for a time he continued hopefully to labour, anticipating the providential opening which he felt assured would come, and by writing and personal intercourse advocating his views. Correspondence was not limited to Presbyterians, as from the first it was his idea to start an Institution for all Dissenters, in its Professorships and Trusteeships, as well as in its educational privileges. In reply to a letter addressed to a leading Baptist clergyman in the West he received a strong remonstrance against his project, as "unwise, unnecessary, and calculated to irritate the powers that be."

Some years previous to this a Society had been formed in

Pictou looking toward the establishment of an Institution for higher education. In the year 1816, with the approval of Governor Sherbrooke, application was made for a Charter, £1,000 having already been subscribed. When the petition was before the Assembly no material difficulty arose, and the Act passed just as its friends desired. In the Council it was different. A sentiment had arisen hostile to Episcopalian monopoly of education, a sentiment not safe to oppose. Hence it was deemed politic to render the Charter so far sectarian as to restrict the Professorships and Trusteeships to Episcopalians and Presbyterians. It was expected that this would excite the jealousy of other denominations against Presbyterians, as more highly favored than they, and as apparently combined with the Church of England in withholding privileges to which they claimed co-equal rights. In appointing Episcopal Trustees it was thought that loyalty to their Church would lead them to handicap Presbyterian Trustees, and thus reduce the injury to Windsor College to a minimum. But the former were men of too high character for such a scheme. It was in vain that Mr. McCulloch objected, urging even a refusal of the Charter with a proviso so invidious. The danger of a refusal of any Charter was suggested, and timid counsels prevailed. Had the promoters promptly demanded their rights, all that followed the adoption of the Charter would never have been. It was further clogged by an insulting provision requiring the Presbyterian Professors and Trustees to make before a Judge of the Supreme Court, a declaration of adherence to the Confession of Faith.

Had the Church been a unit in supporting the Academy, Mr. McCulloch felt that Government connection would have been undesirable. So far from this being the case, even in his own body it met with indifference. The people did not regard it as their own; the annual fight with the Council for a grant removed it from their sympathies, and the Synod, though year after year passing resolutions in its behalf, stood largely aloof. To a friend in Scotland, Mr. McCulloch writes, "My congregation has raised nearly four hundred pounds, but unless things take a turn I do not see that it will be soon useful." Again,

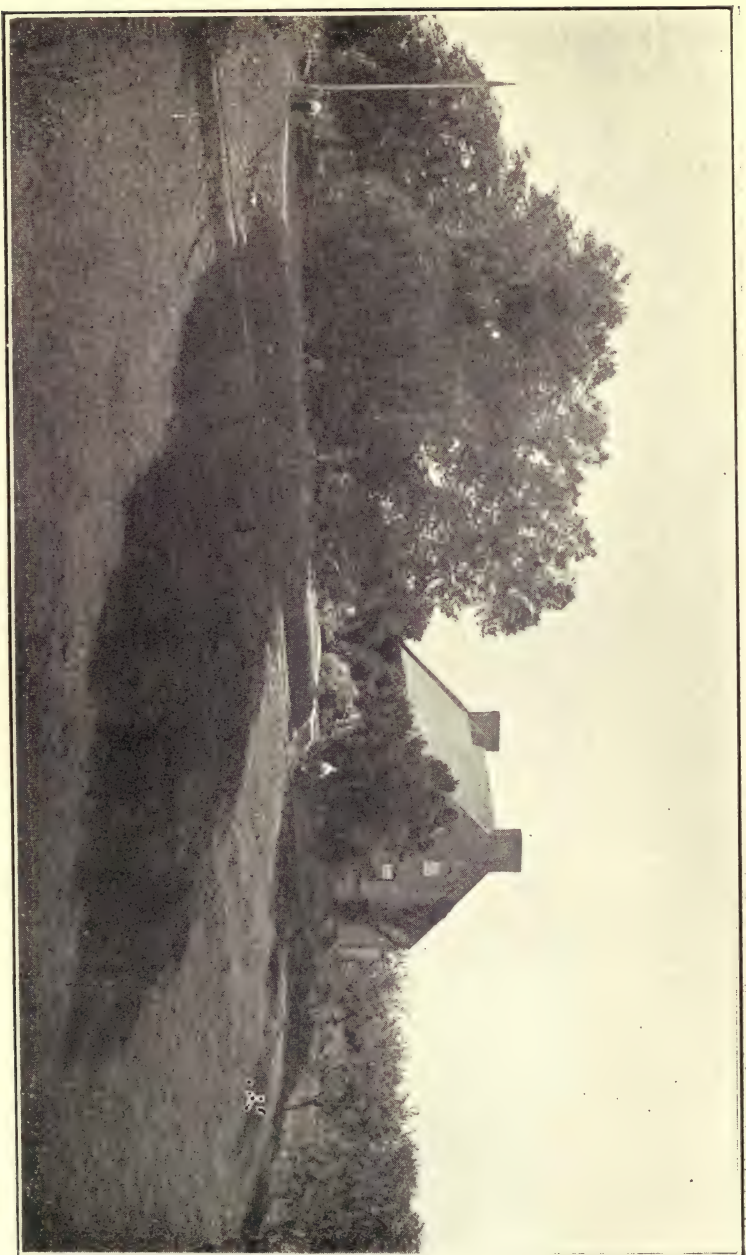
writing of himself in reference to hindrances, he says, "You know I am a man tenax preposite." A collection being ordered by Synod, one in writing to him some wholesome advice, ends by telling him that his congregation "kept all the commandments except to contribute to the Academy." Some then, as in after years, advocated Truro as the most central spot for a site, while others preferred Pictou as the centre of Presbyterianism, and because its people had taken an active interest in the project.

In 1816 occurred the removal of Sir John Sherbrooke to Canada, as Governor General of the British Provinces, an event which was a great loss both to the Province and the Academy. Had he remained in Nova Scotia a few years longer the affairs of the Institution would doubtless have been easily settled. Sir John was a marked exception to the previous style of Governor, and was generally understood to have been sent out of the way, as his integrity and independence threatened a collision with a high military functionary. On his assuming the Government, the old clique of wire pullers gathered around him, intending to play the old role, imagining that "all things would continue as they were," But the change was soon felt throughout the Province, especially among those who had business at Government offices. Callers received prompt attention, and lordly airs went into pigeon holes till a more favorable season. To every man Sir John did strict justice as far as his knowledge went, and ere long he held a place in the respect of the people unheld by any before him, or few after him. In every respect he was regarded as the most liberal and independent Governor who ever ruled the Province. He was a man of highly cultivated mind, and in him Mr. McCulloch found more than a mere official acquaintance.

At the first meeting of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia after his arrival he was presented with a cordial address. Later Mr. McCulloch writes, "At last meeting of Synod I induced the Church to address him again. This address I presented to him about two months ago, when he and his lady were on a visit to my neighbor, Mr. Mortimer. He seemed at a loss for words to express how highly he was

pleased. Our attentions were the more gratifying as he had received none from the Church of England. If he has it in his power to do our Institution a favor he does not lack the inclination, but I am afraid we will soon lose him." At this time the Trustees prepared a petition for transmission by Sir John to the British Government, praying that they might obtain a Royal Charter as a College, with aid such as was accorded to the College at Windsor, and also assistance from the Provincial Government. The result of this I am unable to tell. By request Mr. McCulloch prepared a farewell address to Sir John, from which the subjoined extracts are taken.

"Under Your Excellency a system of education has been provided for those whose claims the benevolence of the community had overlooked. To your Excellency's liberal views we in this district owe the prosperity of a Seminary for the higher branches of learning, equally accessible to all denominations of Christians. It is by the assistance of Your Excellency that the greatest part of us have at last obtained grants of the lands on which we were settled by direction of the Government, and we owe this testimony to the impartiality of Your Excellency that our reasonable requests were always granted." The terms "at last," and "impartiality," refer to the fact that while Mr. Wallace was in power every obstacle was placed in the way of his opponents obtaining patents for their lands. Not only those who had voted but new settlers were so treated if known to sympathize with the Mortimer party. As a further tribute to Lord Sherbrooke we quote the following from a public statement by Mr. McCulloch; "Without derogating from the merits of others the Trustees may be allowed to mention Sir John Sherbrooke, a Governor who neither permitted interested whisperings to influence his administration, nor recognized Episcopacy as giving any exclusive claim to the favors of the State. To his cordial recommendation the Trustees are indebted for the Royal assent to their Act of Incorporation."



SHERBROOKE COTTAGE, PICTOU, THE RESIDENCE OF DR. McCULLOCH

CHAPTER VI.

Church Union.—Dalhousie College.—Marriage Laws.

Among the Secession clergy in Nova Scotia the old Scottish feud between Burghers and Anti-Burghers prevailed, causing no small amount of alienation. Not long after Mr. McCulloch's arrival in the Province the absurdity of perpetuating these divisions among brethren in the Colonies attracted his attention. He writes home thus: "It has been an injury to the Secession that the circumstances of its clergy have allowed them to mingle so little with mankind. The charity of a Church may be too extensive, but its zeal may be too great. I question if our testimony has always been consistent with the interest and honour of the Gospel. It has always seemed strange to me that among the myriads of faithful ministers of Christ our Church finds none with whom they can live as children of the same family." A meeting had been held between ministers of the two bodies in 1795, but with no beneficial result. Changes of sentiment, however, were working among the brethren of the two sections of the Secession in Nova Scotia. Their separate organizations had often been the subject of discussion, and condemned as an evil in the sight of the world, and injurious to the spread of the Gospel, especially when nothing prevented union but a mere matter of doubtful disputation imported from Scotland, and having not the slightest connection with their new relations. For seventy two long years this separation had continued, and so far as Nova Scotia was concerned, had it not been for the action of the laity, it might still have continued.

The matter being later brought before the Session by members of the Truro congregation, the Presbytery of Pictou was requested to meet with the Presbytery of Truro. The first notice pointing toward Union recorded in the minutes of Truro Presbytery, subsequent to 1795, is in 1815, and reads as follows: "That the Clerk communicate to the Burgher Synod through the Rev. Dr. Peddie of Edinburgh, the account of the late

general meeting of ministers for the purpose of Union, and crave advice." That this cannot refer to the meeting of 1796 is evident from the lapse of time. There is no record of time or place of assembling, but it was probably early in 1815. In July, 1816, the minute states that a copy of the letter sent to Dr. Peddie was read. In September of the same year the minute runs; "Received a letter from the Presbytery of Pictou proposing to make a common or general Union; and that the Truro Presbytery be requested to defer the settlement of Mr. Douglas (in Onslow) till the next general meeting on Oct. 18th". No record of that meeting is extant.

That matters were ripening for union is evident from the minutes of Truro Presbytery where it is stated that on motion of Mr. Waddell, he and Dr. MacGregor were jointly to supply St. Mary's. This shows that the brethren had reached the stage of co-operation. In the Truro minutes of Feb. 1817 it is stated that the Revds. Duncan Ross and Thos. McCulloch sat with that Presbytery in Halifax; these two entries also occur; "Took into consideration the formation of a Synod at a future day, and that the ministers of the Colchester district should draw the outlines of a plan containing the general and leading articles of confederation, to be submitted to the ministers of the Pictou district." "That this Presbytery having maturely considered the grounds of Union, approved them, and agreed that the said Union on these grounds be immediately carried into effect, and that a meeting for the purpose be held in Truro on July 3rd 1817." I can find no record stating why Messrs Ross and McCulloch were present at this meeting, nor of any arrangements made for consummating the Union, nor of Dr. McGregor's appointment to preach and preside. But it is evident that the Presbytery, while meeting in Halifax for a case of discipline, was invested with power to arrange for all matters connected with the Union, as no hint of any other meeting is in existence.

In connection with this painful case which took the Presbytery to Halifax, and which led to the extinction of our Church's interests in that city for a time, Mr. McCulloch was subsequently sent to use his influence to endeavor to bring about an

amicable settlement. With this view he preached a sermon, which was published by the congregation, entitled "Words of Peace." He used every effort by private visitation to quiet the storm, but all in vain, as there was an element of discord beyond his reach. It is worthy of note that the chief fomentor of the trouble came to abject poverty, and in his old age was supported by the son of the pastor whom he used his efforts to drive from the congregation.

On the day appointed the brethren met, and after earnest prayer constituted themselves a Synod, by the name of "the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia." This title they adopted as the Synod included all the Presbyterian clergy in the Province with one exception. The reason of this was not opposition to the Union, but the fact that the congregation of St. Matthew's Halifax was not inclined to unite, being semi-independent. The pastor cordially approved of the movement. To both clergy and people the third of July, 1817, was a day of gratitude and joy, an era in the history not of the Church in Nova Scotia alone, but of Presbyterianism. Not only were the breaches in our Zion healed—estranged brethren reunited,—divided means and energies combined, but the power of religion received illustration in this unity. Over the closing scene many a tear of joy was shed, as long separated brethren, grasping each a brother's hand, sang together one of the grand old songs of Zion, and felt that the middle wall of partition had crumbled into dust. Surely such a scene must have given joy to those around the throne, were scenes of earth open to their view. Could those who formed that united band have been told the effect of that day's work, how many unions of alienated brethren would flow from that tiny spring, and as the result how the name of Jesus would be proclaimed from Vancouver to Newfoundland, with all their faith in their Master's character and promise they might almost be pardoned if the doubts of Thomas were theirs.

That day's work struck the death knell of Presbyterian disunion, and though there are those who bear the name still standing aloof, is it too much to expect that ere another half century shall have swept by, "From Greenland's icy mountains

to India's coral strand," Presbyterians,—and why not others?—will have enjoyed and manifested that unity for which Jesus prayed. The divisions and reunions of the past; the early struggles of our Church for civil and religious rights; the very names of those to whom the Presbyterianism of the day owes so much; and the fact of that grand gathering in Truro of those who constituted the first Synod of the Dominion,—all this, if ever known, is regarded by many as of little moment, while to many of the ministers of the Church it is utterly unknown; and yet down at the old cemetery, where stood the Sanctuary of God, a step was taken which will give Truro an honorable name and place in the annals of our Church as the spot where the first union of Presbyterians was consummated; and to the congregation and elders of the First Church of Truro, (and of the Dominion,) the honour of being the first to advocate the healing of the breaches of Zion.

On the day of the Union the Truro Presbytery adopted a formula to be put to all who should be ordained as ministers of the united Church. The original draft in Mr. McCulloch's hand writing, lies before me.

One of the first acts of Synod was the appointment of a committee of "Ways and means of promoting religion," to report at next meeting. To Mr. McCulloch as a member of that committee his brethren delegated the preparation of the report. After being submitted to the committee it was presented to Synod at Truro, and ordered to be printed. Its contents may be worth preserving if for no other purpose than that of manifesting the Synod's anxiety for the elevation of the ministerial character. It suggests the duty of ministerial improvement as essential to the communication of an intelligent view of religion,—careful preparation for the pulpit,—meetings of Presbytery for mutual improvement,—necessity and importance of discipline as bearing upon the character of the Christian, and his influence on the world and Church,—great carefulness in the admission of members to Communion,—a formula of questions to be put to applicants on admission to the fellowship of the Church, recognition of the membership of the baptized youth, and their training under Sessional superintendence, and the revival

of the primitive orders of full members and catechumens. Such were the wise, far-seeing plans of our fathers, and had they been carried into effect they would have given us a Presbyterianism widely different from that of today. They show what our fathers would have thought of neglect of study, or of study directed to subjects altogether alien from Christ's idea of a preached Gospel. What of ministers who think that they can do their work without putting pen to paper? What of the almost total neglect of discipline? What of the excessive liberalism in admission to the Church of members of the reality of whose Scriptural knowledge and Christian experience the Session are often ignorant? So far has the Church fallen from her high vantage ground that the children of Christian parents have no more official relation to the Church than if unbaptized. If parents neglect their duty of training, the Church provides no sufficient substitute.

The increase in the number of Presbyterians rendered it desirable that some means should be devised by which to arrive at an accurate acquaintance with the size and condition of the body. This was regarded of importance in working out church plans, especially where the mind of the Church required to be known as to any new scheme or proposed change. Beside this, it was of moment in the struggle for civil and religious rights that both the Synod and the Government should be aware of the increasing numbers, and consequent power, of the denomination. Immediately after the Union of 1817 an overture was drawn up by Mr. McCulloch, and introduced by Rev. Duncan Ross, asking Synod to appoint a Committee on Statistics, to whom annual returns should be forwarded by each minister, a full statement by this Committee to be submitted to Synod. Objection was made to this movement by some on the plea of its "inquisitorial" character, and after another effort in the following year the subject dropped.

In the early times of the Province a practice had crept into the Church through wandering preachers, calling themselves evangelists, who after a meeting always took a collection for "Brother" So and So. This arose partly from the straitened circumstances of the laborer, in whose home a few shillings

would be a boon, and partly from the desire of the people to show their goodwill. This practice tended to lower the character and standing of the regularly educated ministry, and it became necessary to take some steps to draw the line between the ministers of our Church, and those who having no Church connection, went about as preaching collectors. In 1817 a resolution was introduced into Synod by Mr. McCulloch, forbidding the personal acceptance by our ministers of any such monies, and requiring payment into a fund of the Church, out of which the expenses of ministers' journeyings might be discharged. This resolution was adopted, and in time its recommendation became the usage of our Church.

In 1814 the Town of Castine in Maine was taken by the British, by whom the usual imposts were levied during the time of occupation. After the evacuation it was decided, that deducting some expenses, there remained at the disposal of the British Government £11,596.18.9. This sum the Government appropriated to be used for improvements in Nova Scotia. The matter was further referred to the Council, but received no attention. On assuming the Government it occurred to Lord Dalhousie to utilize the appropriation for educational purposes. With this object he applied to the Colonial Office, and explaining the character of the fund, suggested it being devoted to the erection in Halifax of an Institution for the higher branches of education. His request was granted, and it is understood that he was authorized to give the Institution his own name. In framing the Constitution of the College the Trustees, with one exception,—the minister of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax,—were to be placemen. After deducting £1,000 for a Garrison library, and £3,000 for a building fund, the balance, £6,750, was set apart as a professional endowment. The corner stone of the College was laid on May 20th, 1820, on which occasion Lord Dalhousie announced the design of the building. In his address he says, "Its doors are open to all who profess the Christian religion. It is particularly intended for those who are excluded from Windsor College." Such was the origin of

an Institution, well designed by its noble projector, but destined for many years to be a miserable failure.

Various causes combined to produce this result. The leading denominations in the Province were the Episcopalian and Presbyterian. The latter had the Academy, around which they were rallying, and the others had Windsor with the whole influence of the Government on its side. The Presbyterians had no sympathy with Dalhousie on account of its location in Halifax, and their distrust was deepened by the appointment as Governors of men whose enmity they had so keenly felt and were still feeling. Lord Dalhousie dreaded the College coming under Presbyterian influence, but when nominating the Bishop and other placemen at the governing Board he made the worst possible choice if he ever anticipated the prosperity of the College. From the first it was regarded as opposed to Windsor, and a bid for students was made when His Lordship declared that it was intended for those excluded from that College. In reference to Windsor it was very undesirable that Dalhousie should go into operation. The subject therefore was quietly shelved, and his Lordship disappointed. When too late he found that in playing off the Episcopalians against the Presbyterians he had not only lost the confidence of the latter, but placed the College at the tender mercies of the Bishop. Under this influence it seemed gradually to pass from public thought. Even had the Governors been anxious for their utilization, the funds at interest were utterly inadequate. Lord Dalhousie, when removed from the Province, continued to take a lively interest in his College.

Shortly after Lord Dalhousie's removal a covert attempt was made to get it under new control; but not so secretly but that it reached his Lordship's knowledge. Of this attempt he writes to Dr. Grey, one of the College Governors, and the only Presbyterian in the trust, that there had been at work certain parties to prevent the College "having any connection with Presbyterians," and, "you may depend upon it that what has been done already will put an end to the Institution whenever it is made public." He adds that he is bound in charity not to know the quarter from which the proposed alteration in the

Charter had its origin. It had occurred to an astute mind, now that his Lordship was out of the way, that such alterations might be made in the Charter as would divert the Institution from its declared purpose, and place it under new conditions and relations. The attempt was a bold one, but a public sentiment had gradually arisen which even the hardihood of the party feared to encounter. His Lordship was unfortunate in his selection of Governors, as he fondly believed that the sense of responsibility involved in such a trust would outweigh the spirit of sectarian partizanship, but in the men he was mistaken.

Some time subsequent to his departure from Nova Scotia correspondence was carried on between him and Mr. McCulloch, one of its objects being to devise means of making the College efficient. It was suggested to His Lordship that such a modification of the Charter as would place the College upon a more liberal footing would be desirable, and tend to draw popular sympathy around the Institution. In such a case the correspondence evidently contemplated the possibility of all Dissenters rallying around Dalhousie, and the not unlikely termination of Pictou Academy, provided such changes were made as would secure the confidence of the Province, especially against future alterations in the Charter. Mistaking the object of these suggestions, and apparently laboring under the old prejudice, His Lordship writes, "My object has been to remove all distinctions as to education among the Protestant classes of Nova Scotia. It must therefore be a plan farthest from my thoughts to place it under the control of the Presbyterian Church." It seems strange that Lord Dalhousie should thus treat the only parties on whom he could depend, and hand it over to the care of those whose interest lay in crushing it.

Touching any remarks in these notes regarding the Bishop and his party it is to be distinctly understood that there were among Episcopalians many who condemned the course pursued by the Bishop, men of large minds who not only opposed his proceedings but warned him of that reaction which has been so injurious to his denomination. Without their moral and material support Mr. McCulloch's position would have been un-

tenable then and for years after. In a public statement he says: "Justice leads the Trustees to bear testimony to the candor and liberality of many of the members of the Episcopal Church, to the co-operation of many of the most respectable and dignified of whom the Academy owes both its existence and legislative support."

In the year 1818 the Trustees of the Academy, finding their resources from friends inadequate, resolved to memorialize Lord Dalhousie, requesting him to recommend to the Legislature the passage of a grant to the Institution. With this request he complied, and with only four dissents a grant of £500 passed the Assembly, this to be drawn by His Excellency when duly notified that the Trustees had expended £1,000 of their own. This grant was repealed by the Council, but undeterred, the Trustees again invoked his Lordship's influence. In this Memorial they say "Why this grant was refused it does not become us to say. At the same time your memorialists would observe that had his Majesty's Council considered the state of the Province they must have been satisfied that the success of the Institution would have tended to the prosperity of this part of His Majesty's Dominions." They then refer to the effect of the exclusiveness of the College at Windsor, and contrast its endowments with the treatment accorded to the Academy, the former having received from the Home Government £5,000, with an annual grant of £1,250, and £500 from the Provincial Treasury, while the Academy received nothing. They tell His Lordship further that there are twice as many students attending the Academy as at Windsor, and conclude by dwelling upon the importance of the spread of general education to the intelligent loyalty of the country. His Lordship's reply is not on record, but there is little doubt that to his influence the Academy owed the grant of £500, which passed the Council in 1819.

That Lord Dalhousie was friendly either to Mr. McCulloch personally or to Dissenters is open to question. In a letter addressed to a gentleman in Halifax soon after he moved to Canada he speaks of him as "a man to be watched," and with this accorded his whole procedure while in Nova Scotia. The

events of the rebellion which gave the United States its place among the nations were too recent, the wound to Britain's prestige too painful, and the causes of that disastrous uprising too well known, not to have made a deep impression upon the Home authorities, and made them anxious at any threatened trouble in the Colonies. His Lordship had sufficient penetration to understand the state of the public mind as becoming increasingly restive under oppression, and to ward off the difficulties foreseen as the result of the Council's action, he may have used his influence to obtain the grant, but generally his favors were reserved for Episcopalians, and his displeasure for any and every man, who, however justly, disturbed the peace of his government. By a serious remonstrance to the British Government he could have controlled the Council, but for reasons of his own that word remained unspoken. Although a Scot, he had little sympathy with his struggling countrymen, unless they belonged to the Established Church. Though perhaps not strongly inclined to a proscribing policy, he never showed himself the impartial ruler that the Provinces had found in Sir John Sherbrooke.

At the Synod of 1818 the Trustees made their first appeal to the Church for support. Without a dissenting voice the request was granted, and a collection recommended. These recommendations produced nothing beyond what those who were friendly would have given in any case, or at most very little. About this time Mr. McCulloch writes; "It adds to our popularity that both the Academy and the Grammar School have been noted for progress, and the orderly conduct of the youth, while that of Windsor is in a state of demoralization, and the pupils are only twelve."

The attitude of Government toward non-Episcopalians was not restricted to the subject of education. In matters affecting their dearest social rights they were made to feel the galling yoke. Dissenters could not be married by their own clergy without the tedious process of proclamation by banns. In connection with this a circumstance occurred attracting attention to their degrading position. Dr. McGregor had married a couple without the publication of banns. They

afterward moved to St. John, N. B., where they sought Church privileges from Rev. Dr. B.—of that City. Ascertaining the circumstances Dr. B.—wrote to Dr. McGregor for a certificate, at the same time telling him that he was liable to a penalty of £100 or not less than £50 and six months' imprisonment, and advising the man that he was not legally married. Although marriage by license was restricted to the Episcopal Church, the more liberal minded were accustomed to endorse their licenses to Dissenters. Among my predecessors papers were many such endorsed licenses. It is true that the practise was irregular, but it had assumed the character of "use and wont," with the knowledge of the Government. Following closely upon this matter in which Dr. McGregor was concerned there came another, that while it brought prominently before the public the invidious distinctions arising from an Established Church, served materially to aid in their abolition. A servant of the Rev. James Robson of Halifax desiring to be married by him, the request for a license was made and refused. Mr. McCulloch, being in the city at the time, at once took up the matter. Of this he writes to a friend, "Learning how things stood I managed to arouse the Dissenting clergy of the Province and at next meeting of the Legislature we conjointly laid a petition before the Assembly claiming, under the existing law, our right to marry. That right was recognized by a majority of the Assembly, and the Governor, if he felt warranted by the Statutes, was authorized to issue licenses, but if not so warranted the law was to be altered. Every device was employed to mislead the Governor on this question, and he followed the opinion of the Attorney-General, one of the most virulent foes of Dissenters, and the Act was disallowed. At the last Assembly we petitioned, and an Act passed in our favor, and although the energies of the Church of England were excited against us, it passed the Council and was sanctioned by the Governor. The last effort of our enemies was to get a suspending clause till the will of the Prince Regent should be known. A strong Memorial in favor of the Act was sent from the Assembly and Council. All this has been laid at my door.

During the debate Mr. Marshall declared that the Presbyterians had not any such cause of complaint as stated."

In a message from the Governor to the Assembly the reason of disallowance is given, and it betrays the source of failure in these words, "Lord Bathurst considers that marriage by banns is all that Dissenters have a right to ask, as marriage by license is not in use among them, and not favored by the Church of England as leading to irregularity." Though defeated in the first attempt, public sentiment had been aroused, and from time to time the subject was revived, till this, with other abuses, was ultimately swept away.

The subjoined reasons against the foregoing Act of the Assembly which were sent by an Episcopalian to the Governor, in the absence of the Bishop, for transmission to the Colonial Office, are worth preservation.

"The writer traces the marriage question back to the days of Queen Elizabeth. He argues that the Act if allowed must affect the interests of the Episcopal Church,—that the establishment of Episcopacy conferred upon the Colonial Church all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Church in Britain,—that the Act establishing the Church in Nova Scotia, benevolently provided for freedom of conscience and worship for Dissenters,—and that to this day the Church has enjoyed her peculiar privileges without complaint. He regrets the attempt of Dissenters to obtain a share of the privileges belonging exclusively to the Church as destructive of harmony,—that as Bishops alone have a right to issue licenses, such licenses being an ecclesiastical, that is Episcopal, paper, no person can celebrate marriage by license but those who are authorized by the Bishop,—that the British Government vested the issuing of a license in the Governor and not in the Bishop, to save the Bishop,—when such a dignitary should be appointed,—from the odium of depriving officials who had been accustomed to issue such licenses, of the fees which they usually received, and thus transferring them to the Clergy of the Church,—that the Church in no one part would be secure if the principle on which this Act is based is admitted,—that licenses and their fees are part of the temporalities of a parish minister, and if these are taken

away—so may others; that the Act would give obvious facilities in a tenfold ratio, for improper marriages over the existing order. He then proceeds to argue, that as the Presbyterians in Scotland do not marry by license, the petitioners are inconsistent in asking a privilege which Presbyterians at home repudiate, and ends by saying, 'It is therefore difficult to imagine what plea Presbyterians can urge for a privilege, which, if granted, would be a serious injury to the Established Church.' The blame for exciting this agitation the writer lays at the door of Presbyterians, and justly, as they were the only body of Dissenters strong enough at that time to make their influence felt. It is somewhat surprising that Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, a gentleman of mind, should have enunciated the views on the subject attributed to him, saying in effect that Dissenters were entitled to only such meagre regard from Government as saved them from concubinage.

On the ratification of the Academy Charter by the Prince Regent, the Trustees prepared for the erection of a suitable building. The frame was constructed at the Middle River, and rafted to Pictou. Great was the excitement of the crowd when it reached the shore. The site chosen was at what was then the west end of the town and faced a plot of ground later called the College Green. Aware that some time must elapse before the building could be ready for use, the Trustees secured temporary accommodation for the classes in the large back room of a house yet standing; opposite the residence of the late Thomas Dickson Esq. There, after fitting up the room with plain substantial desks, the first step in training a native ministry was taken on a May morning in 1818.

CHAPTER VII

Academy Opened.—Divinity Professorship.—Literary Work.

On Nov. 19th, 1818, Mr. McCulloch writes, "We commenced our second term on the first of October, and owing to the increase of students have had considerable difficulty in carrying on our Greek classes. Our number is now thirty. Our present classes are Latin, Greek, Logic, Moral Philosophy, and Mathematics, of which Mr. McKinlay teaches the first and the last. This year also he manages the Grammar School. We have erected a handsome building, fifty-four by thirty-five feet, and two stories high, the one twelve, and the other ten feet clear. The two rooms below, are for the classes, and those above for the library, philosophical apparatus, and museum, that is to say when we get them. It is planned to have two wings which I wish we may need. We expect to be in it in a fortnight. I am preparing an introductory lecture upon the advantages of a liberal education. With respect to our prospects, I think them good. I do not mean that we have no opposition, but I think we will overcome it." In the state of the country then the Academy building was regarded as an imposing structure, although today it would scarcely attract a glance. Few dreamed of the influence it was destined to exercise over the civil and religious life of the country. The opening exercises of the Academy were held in the Church, which stood on the site of the present Prince St. Church, and consisted of the religious services usual on such an occasion, and the lecture above mentioned entitled, "The nature and uses of a liberal education." This address was published at the request of the Trustees, and widely circulated.

The burden of organizing the Institution fell almost entirely on its Principal, as few except ministers had any idea of what was required, and as the Trustees accorded him the fullest liberty he thought it best to act upon his own judgment. In addition to the studies mentioned he gave lectures on Political Economy, and conducted exercises in Analysis and Composition. He also opened a class in Chemistry. Provision was

made for simple experiments, becoming more complicated as the course proceeded, at what labour and anxiety, with what appeals to Scotland for aid, and at what personal expense can only be known by the correspondence before me.

In June 1818 Mr. McCulloch writes to Professor Mitchell. "At present we have the favour of the public, but whether this will continue must depend considerably upon our labour and success in teaching. In order to carry on the Seminary the Trustees are not only necessitated to begin a library, but to keep such an assortment of books as the students may require. For these purposes my last letter contained an order from Mr. Mortimer upon Mr. Liddell for £120, and a list of books upon which to expend it. For different reasons I wished the business to pass through your hands. You have been long the friend of this country.....Of the money £15 belongs to a Lady's Society formed for the purpose of assisting our library. I must beg of you therefore to make up books to that amount in one parcel and direct it to Mrs. Mortimer. I would like them to be as uniform as possible, and such as would make a handsome appearance in a Library. If you could also get a few sheets of coloured tickets to paste upon them containing these or similar words, (Donation from the Pictou Lady's Society,) it might be useful. Again, in acknowledging further favours from Professor Mitchell he says, "I cannot use expressions sufficient to denote my sense of your friendship for myself and the Institution. It was what you had taught me to expect, but really when I received it, it was attended with a feeling of how little I had deserved it not very pleasant. Mr. McGregor, who was with me when the articles arrived, could not contain his thankfulness and rejoicing, and made me promise to express to you his strong sense of your exertions in behalf of an Institution whose prosperity lies near his heart."

In December 1818 the Trustees had opened their new building in the presence of many warm friends who fondly hoped that their greatest difficulties were over. Owing to the labor and anxiety attendant on preparation to enter the Academy, a severe sickness had rendered the Principal almost incapable of any exertion, but at the request of the Trustees he

proceeded to Halifax to watch the course of legislation, and the fate of the Memorial. The Assembly met in February, one of the most trying months of the year, when a journey of one hundred miles on horseback, through deep snow and under intense cold might have deterred a strong man. "To a friend in Scotland he writes," you must not think our difficulties small. Were the work to begin now, I would never with my present experience, embark in such an undertaking. The struggles and mortifications through which I have passed have been many, and I see more before me. Some parts of the Church are hostile because the Institution is located in Pictou, and some are lukewarm. The Trustees petitioned Synod for help to purchase a library. This was treated with coldness by some; one member opposed it." "We are waiting to see what the Government will do." Again, "Our course of Natural Philosophy begins shortly, and we have neither books nor apparatus. The Trustees have authorized me to expend two hundred pounds. I daresay Dr. Ure, who is an old classfellow, will assist you to buy for us. Send out what is most useful. Anything that we can make here we don't want." The last remark refers to the fact that whatever his own time and labor, or that of his sons, could construct, was made, in order to economize the funds.

When the classes were opened there was not, as far as memory serves, a single article to illustrate the lectures on Natural Philosophy, excepting the few that were the private property of the Principal. By a grant from the Trustees and private contributions, Mr. McCulloch was enabled after a few years to secure the apparatus of Dr. Reid of Edinburgh; an important acquisition, though as might be expected after years of use, there was a good deal of imperfection. Here, as in the chemical class at first, making, mending, and testing his apparatus was a drag upon both time and health. To quote the words of Jotham Blanchard Esq. "Of his daily labours and nightly vigils after he took charge of the Institution I am surely a competent witness. I was one of his first students, and have often seen him at eight o'clock of a winter morning enter his desk in a state of exhaustion which plainly



THE PICTOU ACADEMY, 1817

showed the labors of the night. To this those who are acquainted with the subject will give credence when I state that his share of the course was Greek, Hebrew, Logic, and Moral and Natural Philosophy. In each of these sciences, he drew out a system for himself, the result of much reading and much thought. When I add to this account of his daily labors, the repairs and additions which were necessary to a half worn apparatus, and which none but himself could make, I am almost afraid my testimony will be doubted. And for the first five or six years of the Institution, let it be remembered, he had charge of a congregation, and regularly preached twice a day ✓ save when over exertion ended in sickness. Well then might the Committee of the Assembly declare that the literary and other qualifications of Dr. McCulloch were universally admitted, and well might Dr. Archibald the Solicitor of Nova Scotia and speaker of the House of Representatives, in a debate in the Academy question, say, that, "if the decision of that day should dismiss Dr. McCulloch from the land of his adoption, the country would see many a weary day before she would again number in the lists of her population as much learning, talent, and disinterested devotion in the cause of education."

The new Principal of the Grammar School was the Rev. John McKinlay, M. A., who arrived from Scotland in the summer of 1817. Contrasted with his predecessor he was a strict disciplinarian. In his days, by a process known to school boys, tail after tail of the "taws" before mentioned rapidly disappeared till, Dagon-like, only the stump remained. Better for the boys had they left the taws in his undisturbed possession.

In 1819 Mr. McCulloch paid a visit to the United States. This was undertaken partly for the sake of his health. To the Rev. Professor Mitchell of Glasgow he writes his impressions.

"I sailed from Halifax for Portland, 120 miles to the eastward of Boston, and proceeded through most of the towns as far as New York. From this I returned by Albany Lake Champlain, Montreal, Quebec, The Bay of Chaleur and Miramichi. The distance is between two and three thousand miles. When at New York I would gladly have visited your son, but the fever broke out and the heat was so oppressive I was afraid to go farther south in the infirm state in which

I was, particularly not knowing the real condition of Philadelphia. Of our clergy I saw none but Mr. Shaw, a truly valuable man, at present in the Academy at Albany. In the body I could learn that old views are struggling with Christian liberality. The Seceders in New York are in part what the Seceders were in Scotland sixty years ago. My arrival among them was the source of much contention. A meeting of session was called, of which the result was that their Synod not having told them what the Nova Scotians were, they could not ask me to preach. As there was nothing personal intended it was impossible for me to take the decision of session in dudgeon; but when I found the congregation divided I made no acquaintances among them. I was two Sabbaths there, and attended the meetings as if nothing had happened, except on the afternoon and evening of the last. I then preached to two Baptist congregations, the evening service being in the largest Church I have ever seen.

When I left this Province I furnished myself with credentials from the Methodist Conference here and from the Baptist connexion, and uniformly wherever I called upon their friends in the States I was received as a brother, and experienced every mark of Christian affection. What the general state of religion is I cannot say from my own observation, but I doubt it is not good. Around Boston the body of the clergy, it is said, are Unitarians. I preached there with one of them, and with an Evangelical Baptist. The Canadas are a land of darkness, and of the shadow of death, popery among the French and carelessness among the rest. There is Mr. Easton in Montreal, and Mr. Sprat in Quebec. I preached an evening sermon for the latter. The congregation was a mere handful. Between popery and prelacy every other party is crushed. Though the Scotch Church in Quebec wanted a minister, they durst not ask me to preach for fear of losing their Charter. The States are an exceedingly thriving country. They will soon swallow up the Canadas. The Canadians in intelligence and enterprise are centuries behind them. The States have a beautiful appearance, they resemble very much a gentleman's pleasure grounds with you. The great body of the country, to the very borders of the towns, is covered with woods. Trees are growing here and there in the fields and orchards are abundant upon the sides of the highways. These things beget the admiration of strangers from Europe. But when the country is viewed with a farming or philosophic eye the charm ceases. With respect to soil it is without exception the worst

country that I ever saw. The great body of it is not so good as the Mearns moor, and the farming is wretched. The climate is everything. In my whole journey I did not see a farm like Mr. Mortimer's either for soil or cultivation. Yet the States are advancing rapidly, and will be unquestionably a great nation. I could write a great deal more about the country which you would not believe, but you may depend upon it that what I have written is true. I visited it partly for examination. I examined without prejudice, and I found no soil which you would call good till I returned to Pictou. What Canada is I had little opportunity of knowing, being almost constantly in steam boats."

In the course of his visit he had explained to friends his position, and his work and aims in Nova Scotia. After his return he received letters urgently counselling him to abandon a field so apparently forbidding, and assuring him of a cordial welcome in the United States, and a life free from incessant toil and anxiety. It may be mentioned here, as a probable outcome of this visit, that in 1821 he was surprised and encouraged by receiving the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the College of Schenectady, New York. In the letter of Mr. Shaw of Albany accompanying the degree there are warm expressions of regard, and of appreciation of his work in Nova Scotia, and regret expressed at his refusal to cast in his lot with friends in the States. This degree is believed to be the first of its kind conferred upon any minister of our Church in this Province.

At a meeting of Synod in 1820 Mr. McCulloch reported that a number of students were ready to enter upon the theological course. He had early selected some of his most promising pupils, and directed their studies with a view to the ministry. While giving them the best training in his power he felt satisfied that when he could say to the Church, "Here are young men who are willing to devote themselves to the work of Christ, and educated up to the means at our disposal. Are they to stop and turn aside to the world, or will the Church step in and provide such additional training as will enable her to supply her wants among her own sons?" that the appeal would be successful, and the effort made. He was not disappointed. It was a moment in his life of which he might have been pardonably proud. Writing of this to a friend he says,

"At Synod I stated that our oldest students were now ready for the Divinity class, and requested them to consider the case. It was taken up with a great deal of zeal, and some who before would not raise even a penny for the Academy, pledged themselves to arouse their congregations." But as is too often the case, pledges given under the excitement of the hour were not all redeemed. Ministers of a Church whose existence depended upon prompt action in sustaining their "School of the Prophets" allowed the favorable opportunity to escape. However old friends and some new ones contributed, and from such men, laity as well as clergy, no pledges were needed.

At this meeting of Synod Mr. McCulloch was appointed Professor of Divinity. The majority considered that the one who had brought the students thus far was justly entitled to any honours the Church had to bestow. There being no other suitable place for the purpose it was agreed to request of the Trustees the use of one of the rooms in the Academy when unoccupied. Owing to the work of the congregation the Divinity Class met only once a fortnight. The Confession of Faith formed the basis of the lectures, which were followed by oral examinations. Lectures on pastoral theology formed part of the course, and some time was given to the important work of textual analysis. Over these lectures the Trustees of the Academy exercised no control, though it was differently represented by the foes of the Institution. As an "In Memoriam" I may record the names of the first Divinity class. Robert Sim Patterson, John Maclean, John L. Murdoch, Angus McGillivray, Hugh Ross, Hugh Dunbar, Duncan McDonald, John McDonald and Michael McCulloch. Of these (in 1885) not one survives. The last never entered the ministry, and two retired from ministerial work.

In 1821 Dr. McCulloch was chosen Moderator of Synod, and a Committee appointed to attend the annual examination of the Academy. Subsequently they reported their satisfaction with the progress of the students. At this meeting of Synod twelve students were reported as attending the Divinity Hall, the course of instruction was explained, and Dr. McCulloch stated his declinature of any remuneration until the first

class was licensed. The Synod expressed satisfaction with the report, and voted £30 in aid of the Theological Library. In 1822 as retiring Moderator, he preached before Synod from 1 Cor. 9-14, "Even so hath God ordained that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel." The discourse which bore heavily upon ministers who engaged extensively in farming, created quite a sensation. Some proposed to enter upon the minutes an expression of the Synod's disapprobation, while one who was busily engaged in neglecting his pastoral duties proposed a charge of libel. The Synod for the moment was like the assembly at Ephesus, and required authority to still the uproar. Time brought calmer thought, the dissatisfied being aware that in case of disturbance, their own people would side with the preacher in denouncing a custom which brought their ministers into competition with them in the market, and, which not only deprived them of their pastor's services, but rendered those pastors less efficient and less respected.

For many years the People's House had carried little or no weight, and was regarded much as a fifth wheel to a coach, its enactments being contemptuously rejected by the Council when interfering in any way with its general rights, or the interests of its individual members. The liberal party was not small, but it lacked unity, and was destitute of a recognized leader in the modern sense of the term, and had no policy. That any person could have the hardihood to assail the government through the press seems never to have entered the head of any official. But the public mind was awakening to the abuses creeping into the administration of provincial affairs. The extravagance of official salaries as compared with work done, and the smallness of the revenues; the injustice done to Dissenters as contrasted with the favors showered upon Episcopalians; the permanent grant of four hundred pounds sterling annually to Windsor College as compared with the treatment of the Academy, and questions of a similar character, were awakening discussion and exciting a spirit of hostility to the government.

At the request of many friends Dr. McCulloch penned under the name of "Investigator" a series of letters addressed

to the "Acadian Recorder," dealing with the whole subject. Those letters by their disclosures and keen sarcasms aroused the ire of officials and their hangers on, and broke the spell which had hitherto kept men silent under oppression. His best friends dreaded for his own sake the boldness of his exposures, though they could not deny the truth of his statements. The letters were sent to Judge—for publication. Of one he remarks, "I can only say that it contains too much truth to be agreeable," and with characteristic timidity, he adds, "I am afraid our interests may be injured by the feeling it may excite in certain quarters." One subject ventilated by "Investigator" was the conduct of the Customs Department in its exaction of heavy fees from the shipping trade, especially the coasting trade, of the Province. This was felt to be both an illegal and a grievous tax, and had been declared such by the best legal authorities. The somewhat anomalous relation of the Home Government to the Colonial Customs Department, and the fact that its officials were not amenable to the Assembly, begot a degree of confidence in their position that led them to disregard public murmurings. When the subject was before the Assembly some strong statements and shameful disclosures were made by Charles P. Fairbanks, who asserted that it cost £10,000 to collect £2,000. Of the letters their author writes to the Hon. George Smith, "I have sent you an "Investigator" for Judge———. Published it must, be whatever the consequences. I am willing to be quiet, but it is on other terms than those on which Dissenters in this Province have been forced to live."

Writing on Oct. 19th, 1821, Dr. McCulloch says, "I have just returned from a long tour. Within these six weeks I have travelled by land and water about seven hundred miles. My last excursion was to Prince Edward Island, along with our father (Mr. McGregor) and Mr. Ross. We went over for the purpose of admitting one minister, and ordaining another, Rev. William McGregor. By appointment of Synod we also disjoined the brethren upon the Island from the Presbytery of Pictou. These constitute a fourth Presbytery. At present they have excellent prospects. In course of a few years the

Island bids fair to be an extensive part of our Church. It is a beautiful piece of soil; its population about 20,000, of which I suppose two-thirds are Presbyterians, and in general firmly attached to us. Indeed the great body of them know no other except the name. Our brother, Mr. Keir, the father of that Presbytery, is an invaluable man. He has done much for the Island, and he enjoys the satisfaction of seeing the pleasure of the Lord prospering around him."

In the year 1822 Dr. McCulloch published a series of letters in the "Acadian Recorder" signed "Mephibosheth Stepsure." As a graphic and highly humorous description of the habits of the country they attracted much attention. So true to fact were they that in almost every part of the country the different characters were supposed to be recognized. No little indignation was expressed by those who thought themselves caricatured, and many were the efforts made to discover the audacious slanderer. A gentleman describing the effect of those letters in his own neighborhood said "We looked with great anxiety for the arrival of the "Recorder," and on its receipt used to assemble in the shop of Mr. ———— to hear "Stepsure" read, and pick out the characters, and comment on their foibles, quite sure that they and the writer were among ourselves. Great was often the anger expressed, and threats uttered against the author if they could discover him." Those letters were criticized by a writer, "Censor," and by the Rev. ————, and in no measured terms. Under the cloak of professed ignorance of the author they took the opportunity of venting their dislike, from pretended horror at the writer's plain speaking in reference to certain individual and social customs, which soon after the appearance of the letters ceased to characterize society. Blackwood of the Edinburgh Magazine, to whom the letters of "Stepsure" were offered, thus writes to a friend in Glasgow. "I have perused the "Chronicles of our Town," over and over again. I was struck from the first with the power displayed in these letters, which are full of the most picturesque sketches of life, and are written in a style of rich humor which I have seldom seen surpassed." Blackwood offered £75 for the copyright, which was refused. He then

tried to engage Dr. McCulloch to write for his magazine, at the rate of from ten to fifteen guineas a sheet, but this offer also was declined, partly from want of sympathy with the character of the magazine, and partly from the multiplicity and more congenial nature of his duties. Some years ago the proprietors of the "Recorder," republished "Stepsure" in pamphlet form.

Dr. McCulloch also published two short stories—William, and Melville,—illustrative of youthful life in the Colonies. Those simple stories, were afterward reprinted by Oliphant and Co., Edinburgh. He also wrote a pamphlet on baptism, which was printed and circulated by order of Synod. In April, 1822, the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the University of Glasgow.

In the year 1823 the question of Union with the Kirk in the Lower Provinces was submitted to the Synod through an overture presented by the Rev. James Thompson of Miramichi. Mr. Thompson, being removed from the centre of Church operations, was not well enough informed on the relations of the Secession to the Kirk to enable him to form an intelligent opinion upon such an important subject. Those best qualified to judge deemed the time inopportune, and no action was taken.

On the presentation of the overture being reported to the Secession Synod in Scotland, the expressions of opinion sent to Nova Scotia were so decidedly adverse that at the next meeting of Synod the matter dropped. The chief reasons were the attitude of the Church of Scotland toward the Secession in Scotland, and the anticipation of a similar attitude here, leading such men as Professor Mitchell of Glasgow, and Dr. Ferrier of Paisley to declare that such a union would sever all connection between the Scottish Secession, and the Church so formed. Coming from men of such high standing and known catholicity the warning was decisive, and subsequent events proved the wisdom of the course taken. Of the proposed union Dr. ————writes, "strong efforts are being employed in Scotland to impede the progress of the Secession, and if you are acknowledged by the Assembly it will be only as stepbairns." In reply Dr. McCulloch writes, "I can now speak positively of the Nova Scotia union. We would not

enter on it at the expense of separation from you, and since I wrote you it is put out of our power to revive it at all, without destroying what we have been attempting to build up. In our Synod those who were formerly anxious for it voted unanimously that it be dropped." The Synod's desire was to have but one Colonial Church, independent of all foreign control, in cordial relations with other Presbyterian bodies, receiving well accredited ministers from sister Churches as brethren and fellow laborers.

While engaged with teaching, Dr. McCulloch was fully sensible that the interests of his congregation must suffer, although at the time of his appointment to the Academy his people had submitted cheerfully to the limitation of his services. In the state of ministerial supply he was shut up to the double work. The presence of the Rev. Mr. McKinlay opened up the way for his resignation, but other matters tended to hasten his action. One of the elders, in a dispute with a member the Church struck him a blow. The case came before the Session, and to its decision the party who had returned the blow promptly submitted, while the elder rebelled, and was suspended. From that time he became a personal enemy, and set himself to increase the dissatisfaction already existing owing to the partial withdrawal of the pastor's services from the work of the congregation. A congregational meeting was called to consider the affairs of the Church, no particular object being specified. At this meeting Dr. McCulloch gave a circumstantial account of what the disaffected had been saying and doing, naming parties chiefly concerned, and there present, at which many held down their heads for very shame. Acknowledging his inability to do justice to both of his positions, he then intimated his intention to resign his charge, and left the Church. The majority of the congregation was opposed to his removal, but he succeeded in rallying them around the common interest, and thus perhaps saved the Church.

CHAPTER VIII

Students Licensed—M. A. Degrees—Dr. McCulloch Revisits Scotland.

The time was approaching to which through long years Dr. McCulloch had been looking forward, and which was anxiously anticipated by his brethren as the test of the wisdom of his plans. The Theological students had completed their course, and the Synod had authorized their licensure after due examination. The usual exercises were prescribed by the Presbytery of Pictou, which having been delivered, the young men were subjected to a searching examination. It was then unanimously agreed that they should be licensed.

On the day appointed in 1824 a large number of interested friends from East and West River, as well as from the town, assembled in the church to witness a scene so novel as well as solemn, and so important in its relation to the welfare of the Church. To many the scene appeared almost unreal. Such an idea had been entertained of the qualifications necessary to the gospel ministry, that it seemed like presumption to expect the Academy to provide the requisite training, or that those young men whom they had known as boys should be able in the race of life to hold their own with University trained preachers from Scotland, in short, that they should aspire to be their spiritual guides. Many might be pardoned if they had looked upon the project with deep anxiety.

At the conclusion of their trials both ministerial brethren and friends of the Church breathed freely, as they saw the great question settled, the fitness of native youth for their country's ministry. The trials were received with high encomiums by men qualified to judge, and fully alive to their responsibility. On that eventful evening Messrs John L. Murdoch, John Maclean, Robert Sim Patterson, and Angus McGillivray were licensed to preach the everlasting gospel, and from that day they have never lacked successors in the Hall or in the Sanctuary. Of these young men the last closed his ministry of fifty eight years, and his life, in 1882. These

names are fresh in the memory of the Church as the first Presbyterian ministers educated and ordained in Nova Scotia, and, if I am not mistaken, the fruits of the first effort in British America to solve the question of native training for the christian ministry. Some time ago Mr. Murdoch visited Pictou, and calling at the homestead, he asked to see the old room upstairs, where his early training had commenced. As he looked around the familiar spot, and memories of his teacher and fellow students returned with almost the vividness of personal presence, and he thought of the breaches that time had made in the once youthful bands, and of his own toils and advancing years, he became visibly and powerfully affected. It was his last visit. Of those who formed the first class of students Mr. Murdoch was decidedly the most intellectual. Whatever subject was under discussion, whether in the pulpit or in Church Courts, he seemed to grasp without an effort its salient points. His judgment was clear, and once formed, not many ventured to call it in question. As a counsellor his advice was invaluable, and exercised no little influence upon the character of the Church of today. As a preacher he was highly appreciated. He never for a moment forgot his high character as Christ's messenger to living, dying men, or prostituted the pulpit to displays of oratory, or discussion of subjects gratifying to popular taste, but starving to immortal souls. He had no sympathy with a style of preaching where Christ was a mere name, or entirely ignored. "Christ Crucified" was the doctrine of his Bible, the theme of his pulpit, and the foundation of his eternal hope.

To say that these young ministers did good service for the Church in their native land is but feeble testimony to their character and worth. They obtained congregations who prized their ministers, and by whom they were highly regarded.

The day on which the Principal saw the licensure of those young men was indeed a happy one, not simply as the result of his anxiety and toil, but for the sake of the youth of his adopted home, and the character of the Institution. Here were the first fruits of an effort which he foresaw would render the Provinces practically independent of the Church at home;

and though the Academy no longer exists, the Divinity Hall survives, a memorial of the success of the sacrifices and struggles of days gone by. How far the success of the Nova Scotia Synod influenced, in after days, other portions of the Dominion, it is not for me to say. It is only necessary to look at the extent and rapid growth of Presbyterianism throughout the Provinces, under the existing system, to see what the result has been, compared with what it was, and would have continued to be, had the country been dependent upon ministers from Scotland, as a prominent member of the Presbytery of Paisley declared it must continue to be for the next hundred years!

Often amid his labors and contendings Dr. McCulloch's heart turned with a keen longing to the scenes and friends of his early days. He knew that time and social progress were fast depriving many a loved spot of those features so dear to youth, and not a few near and dear had passed away. His wilderness surroundings, the want of congenial society, and not a little weariness of spirit—all awakened an intense desire to revisit Scotland, revive fast fading friendships, tread the spot hallowed by his fathers' graves, and renew the associations of his early ministry. Years glided by, and so visionary seemed his hope that he had tried to forget. The spirit of consecration that brought him from his far off home, the importance of the work in which he was engaged, and the danger of leaving his post even for a short time, with the question of benefit adequate to the risk, combined, when at last there seemed a prospect of gratifying his desire, to make him hesitate. The condition of the Academy was critical, and the Trustees were unwilling to consent to his absence, and to their view he bowed.

Finding his own way hedged up, and being anxious to awaken among friends in Scotland an interest in the Institution, the idea suggested itself to send some of the young ministers in his place. He thought that their presence would do more to prove the mental qualifications of the "natives" than any description from him, however elaborate, and would illustrate the character of the education given in the Academy, and

Divinity Hall, with its adaptation to its high aim. But the visit contemplated a further object, the benefit to the young preachers of seeing the "old country" examining its social and religious conditions, mingling in familiar intercourse with its ministerial life, and learning its methods of organization and working; in short giving them an enlargement of view unattainable except by mingling freely and intelligently with the world. When this plan was suggested to brethren of the Pictou Presbytery it met with most decided disapprobation, and one aged father, who had been following them with earnest attention through all their studies, seeing around him, in imagination, the wilderness made glad through their ministrations, fearing that they might prefer the amenities of Scottish life to the privations of a Nova Scotian forest, and be induced to seek congregations abroad, wrote a long epistle, threatening them with all that befell Jonah, if they carried out their design. It was, however, carried out, much to their personal improvement, and their usefulness to the Church in after years. The young men selected for this object were Messrs Maclean, Murdoch and Patterson.

The following letter was given to the students upon their departure:

Gentlemen:

I expected to have written you a long letter, but find that the quantity of writing which I have to go through will not permit me to make more than a few jottings. Considering your voyage as advised by myself contrary, as you are aware, to the sentiments of some who profess a great deal of friendship for you, but who never in the progress of your education showed any real interest in your improvement, I feel an anxiety that it may turn out so as to promote your respectability and usefulness in the Church. I hope therefore that you will keep these ends constantly in view, and that you will keep in view the direction of Him who has said, "In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy steps."

During the voyage you must maintain the worship of God through the week, as well as preach upon Sabbath if the Captain allows. When you arrive at Greenock your letters will find you acquaintances, but I would advise you to get on to Glasgow unless you arrive in the end of the week. If asked you can return there any time after to preach. If possible I

wish my friend Dr. Mitchell to have your first services. I expect also that you will consult him upon all occasions, and do nothing contrary to his advice. When you arrive in Glasgow you will seek out Mr. Robert Harvey, Merchant, and deliver his letter. I have written to him to assist you to find a lodging for yourselves. This you must have before you are introduced to the clergy. If you dislike your quarters you can change them afterward. Next you can wait upon Dr. Mitchell, who will introduce you to his brethren. Except to him, say nothing about the clergy here unless you can praise; to attach blame or censure to any would not look well from you, and beside you do not know but before your return your remarks might be sent out to the very persons about whom they were made. As your object is improvement I would wish you to hear as many preachers as possible, and never omit an opportunity of attending Presbyteries, wherever you are. Learn as much as you can about ecclesiastical order. You will not forget the Elocution, but not in the College; a private teacher is preferable. Take every opportunity of visiting Colleges, Museums, menageries, and manufactories of every kind. If you go to London the clergy in Scotland will introduce you to the brethren there, and you will also find my brother and his family of use. When you visit Edinburgh I expect you to pay your respects to my old friend, Professor Paxton, first. You will also attend his meeting for the purpose of hearing him. I have asked him to find you seats. He will not ask you to preach. You will also wait upon Dr. Hall, and Mr. More, to both of whom I have written about you. Do not buy books till you see how you are likely to get on. In speaking about the College I leave you entirely to yourselves. A Concordance, and a few skeletons you will find useful. Take care where you sing hymns. If any of you choose you can take a walk to Stewarton, and see what a small congregation I had, and where I spent many days of hard study. Dr. Mitchell will give you a letter to the clergyman, and if he asks you to preach do not forget to tell the congregation that I sent you expressly for that purpose. There is a Dr. Wilson, an old friend of mine, who will be glad to see you. To the parish clergyman, Mr. Douglas, present my best respects. Review your sermons upon the passage and change every expression which seems to make our mercies depend upon our conduct. You may be assured that you have to preach before judges, and every expression, particularly on the above point, will be carefully watched. About your public prayers also I would observe that you must carefully avoid all cant expressions such as "O, Lord," "we pray," "we rejoice," and the like. Tell

each other freely your faults upon this point. The respectability of our Church and Seminary depend much upon your exhibitions. In your public prayers take care not to forget the King, the general diffusion of the gospel among Jews and heathen, and particularly remember these Provinces, and the Seminary as the means of giving them the gospel. All this will be expected of you, and I would advise you upon the passage to select a number of neat expressions which you may use with readiness upon these topics. My children are going with you in ill health. I do not ask you to contribute to their comfort. I know you will do it. I consider you all as my children, and it never occurs to me that you will forget me or mine. I have written to the Professors of Natural History in Glasgow and Edinburgh to show the Museums. Dr. Mitchell and Dr. Hall will introduce you to them."

T. McCULLOCH

For some time previous the health of my sister Helen and brother Thomas had occasioned much anxiety, and by the advice of a physician a voyage to Britain was arranged, which was carried out by the same opportunity. On the 21st of October 1824 they sailed from Pictou. It was perhaps one of the darkest nights ever known in that quarter. Writing to a friend in Glasgow, our father says,—“In the same vessel with my son and daughter I expect three of our preachers will sail for the purpose of visiting Britain, and I conceive this visit an important means of maintaining between you and us that cordial union which ought never to be terminated. When they arrive, if any of the brethren entertain mean ideas of their scholarship, they can try them.” When the design of the visit became public there was no little commotion, especially among opponents. Ministers of Christ, without having heard one of them preach, and having no personal acquaintance with them, proclaimed them “such poor stuff that even the Secession, contemptible as it was, would not acknowledge them.” But the record of those three young men forms part of the history of the University of Glasgow, of the now flourishing Church of Canada, and may I say, with deepest reverence, of the General Assembly that surrounds the throne on high.

On the arrival of the young brethren they were most cor-

dially received by the Secession Church, and preached extensively, and with great acceptance, in their congregations. A Memorial was prepared by the Rev. Dr. Mitchell, Professor of Divinity to the Secession Church, Andrew Mitchell Esq., advocate, and other gentlemen of Glasgow, asking for them the recognition of the Senatus of the University by permitting them to stand an examination for the degree of Master of Arts.

They say;

“The young men have passed through a full course, and it is hoped, that, if tried, they will be found no mean proficient in classical, literary and general science. Having been induced by Dr. McCulloch to visit the land of their fathers, they are anxious to be allowed the privilege of standing as candidates for the degree of M. A. in the University, an honour which they cannot obtain in their own country, and which they conceive would be greatly subservient to their respectability and usefulness. Doctors McGregor and McCulloch, on whom the University lately conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and to whom the Province owes a large debt of gratitude, are ministers of the Secession. Although the latter has not suggested this application to your respected Senate yet he cannot be insensible to its importance, and if successful will feel the more gratified that he has not moved in it.”

This Memorial received a courteous and favorable reply, and on the day appointed the young gentlemen were duly examined by six of the Professors, Messrs Jardine, Milne, Miller, Mickleham, Walker and Sandford. At the close of the examination the Professors paid them a high compliment, and the Senatus unanimously recorded them the M. A. degree. The result was conveyed to Dr. McCulloch by Prof. Mitchell who writes thus, “It gives us great pleasure to learn that we have been enabled both to gratify the excellent young gentlemen, and to benefit the Academy. That our success should have come so opportunely, to silence, in the most effectual manner, those who attempt, with sectarian envy, to traduce your course of education, certainly could not have been foreseen. This is the finger of God.”

The visit of his children to the Old Country, together with that of the three young ministers, led Dr. McCulloch finally to decide upon paying his long dreamed of visit to his native land.



REV. JOHN MITCHELL, D. D.
Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Associate Synod

He had previously been induced to forego his plan by the Trustees' plea that it was necessary to have a special agent in Halifax at the time of the meeting of the Legislature, to watch over the interests of the Academy. As a matter of fact, by combined determined action, they might have done more than was in his power had they been as sincerely desirous of success as he was. Some who were unwilling to be too demonstrative in favor of the Academy deterred others from acting with that determination which would have placed it upon a firm foundation. These hoped to find in Dr. McCulloch the one who was prepared to give and take all the hard blows of the contest, while they looked quietly on.

This timid time serving was not characteristic of all, far from it! There were those whose hearts were in the work, but they were not the most influential of the Trustees. Said one, in reply to the enquiry, "Why do you not obtain the permanent grant?" "Dr. McCulloch would then be out of our power." As the reply was understood, they could not, as politicians, afford to do without his influence, which they would have lost by his removal from public contentings in behalf of education. In a letter to Scotland, he says, "Our friends look forward to the meeting of the Legislature as the most important we have yet encountered, and though they see that my visit to Britain is necessary to the welfare of our Institution, they would not consent to my absence." By this action the Academy lost the benefit of the prosperous times in Scotland preceding the commercial crash in 1826. His visit had presented itself partly as a means of securing the aid and influence of Presbyterianism in Britain, and thus arousing the flagging energies of friends at home. The work of the Institution was to go on as usual, Mr. McKinlay undertaking to fill the Principal's place.

Dr. McCulloch set sail from Pictou on the 11th of August, 1825. He had confided only to a few friends the end he had in view, as he wrote; "I have taken this method of setting off partly to prevent Mr. Smith and the other Trustees objecting to a mission which the state of the College abundantly requires." Of the voyage no record is extant, except that it was

long and stormy. He left the vessel at Peterhead, and proceeded by land to Edinburgh. On arrival there he put himself into communication with old and attached friends, and entered fully into the history of his struggles. After consultation it was decided that, while appealing to the Secession Church, he should obtain the co-operation of the clergy and members of the Established Church, both for their material aid, and the influence which their sympathy might have upon opponents in Nova Scotia. To secure as far as possible his success in the object contemplated, he had applied to several influential bodies in the Province for such attestations of character as would place himself and his mission in a favorable light before the British public. His testimonials consisted of one from the House of Assembly, signed by twenty-nine members, one from six leading members of the Bar, and others from the Wesleyan Conference, and the Baptist Association. A Memorial setting forth the object of his visit was duly prepared by him, to which the Synod appended the following statement.

"This application (for aid to the Academy) is made through the Rev. Dr. McCulloch, whose worth, talents, and learning have deservedly procured for him high consideration from all ranks in the Colony, and whose unwearied and strenuous efforts have contributed so much, not only to the attempt for the erection of the Seminary, (at Pictou) but also to its present state of efficiency and favor with the public, and to show that he possesses the confidence of those who take an interest in its affairs, or hope to enjoy the benefit of its liberal provisions, it has been thought proper to subjoin the testimonials, with which, on leaving the Colony for a short time, he has been furnished by persons of different religious persuasions, and of the first rank in Society."

In April of the year 1825 a Society had been organized in Glasgow called, "The Society in connection with the Established Church of Scotland, for promoting the moral and religious interests of the Scottish settlers in British North America," but commonly known as the "Glasgow Colonial Society." Its Secretary was the Rev.———of Paisley. Had its operations been conducted in friendly co-operation with the ministry of the Secession already on the field, it would have been of incalculable benefit, but its distinctive idea was the extension of

the Church of Scotland, and not alone in destitute localities. Ignoring the ministerial character of the Secession clergy, and their relations to those over whom they were settled, the agents of the Society in Nova Scotia used every effort, where a vacancy occurred, to place a minister of the Church of Scotland, offering the sum of £50 toward the salary. The Society drew its inspiration and most of its details from correspondents in Nova Scotia, who saw in the prosperity of the Secession, not the success of their Master's cause, but the hopelessness of the supremacy of their own Church. "The poor expatriated Highlanders" figured largely in the correspondence; many of these were astonished, when the reports of the Society reached Nova Scotia, to read the account of their own destitution! To Dr. McGregor's congregation special attention was paid, and there, as elsewhere, the result was not only a rival pastorate, but a state of sectarian strife and thorough social alienation.

The grand object of Dr. McCulloch's efforts was to enlist Scotsmen of every branch of the Church in the promotion of Colonial education, especially with a view to securing a native ministry. Accordingly it was resolved to prepare a Memorial on the basis of the one drafted in Nova Scotia, and to endeavor to obtain the names of influential individuals as attesting to the facts stated, such names to be drawn from all denominations. In doing this great care was taken to place the Academy before the public in its true character, in order to prevent misapprehension, and to guard against the appearance of antagonism to the Kirk in Nova Scotia, or its Society in Glasgow. The wisdom of this procedure was but too soon apparent, for no sooner was the object of Dr. McCulloch's departure known in Pictou than a document was forwarded to the Secretary of the Society which was designed to counteract his efforts by discrediting any statements he might make. This, however, received no public recognition. The subjoined statement relates to the Memorial already mentioned.

"We, the subscribers, having considered the above representations, and having been satisfied that the Seminary to which it refers was called for in the Province of Nova Scotia, and that it is calculated to diffuse the benefits of a liberal education among the great majority of the Colonists, who it ap-

pears by the restrictive statutes of the College at Windsor would be otherwise excluded from such a privilege, do hereby concur in recommending it to the people of this country."

W. Trotter, Lord Provost, Edinburgh.

John Sinclair, Bart. of Ulbster.

Geo. H. Baird, D. D., Principal of the University, Edinburgh.

H. Moncreiff Wellwood, Bart. Minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh.

Andrew Thomson, D. D., Minister of St. George's, Edinburgh.

James Moncreiff, Advocate.

Francis Jeffrey, Advocate.

Thomas M'Cree, D. D., Edinburgh.

J. S. More, Advocate.

John Jamieson, D. D., F. R. S. E., F. A. S., &c., Edinburgh

Henry Grey, A. M., Minister of St. Mary's, Edinburgh.

Thomas Davidson, D. D., Minister of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh.

James Peddie, D. D. Bristo Street, Edinburgh.

George Ross, Advocate.

Robert Jameson, F. R. S. E., F. L. S., &c Professor of Natural History, University, Edinburgh.

John Ritchie, Minister, Potterrow, Edinburgh.

John Brown, Minister, Rose Street, Edinburgh.

James Kirkwood, Minister, James's Place, Edinburgh.

James Pillans, A. M., Professor of Humanity, University, Edinburgh.

William Wallace, Professor of Mathematics, University, Edinburgh.

Andrew Brown, D. D., Professor of Rhetoric, University, Edinburgh.

A. Coventry, M. D., F. R. S. E., Professor of Agriculture, University, Edinburgh.

Andrew Lothian, Minister, Portsburgh, Edinburgh.

Robert Haldane of Auchingray.

Patrick Neil, F. R. S. E., F. L. S. &c. Edinburgh.

James Haldane, Minister, Edinburgh.

Alexander Craig, Merchant, Edinburgh.

James Cornwall, Commissioner of Excise, Edinburgh.

Christopher Anderson, Minister, Edinburgh.

Stevenson M'Gill, D. D., S. T. P., University, Glasgow

George Jardine, Professor of Logic, University, Glasgow

William Meikleham, L. L. D., Professor of Natural Philosophy, University, Glasgow.

Andrew Mitchell, A. M., Writer, Glasgow.

Greville Ewing, A. M., Minister, Nile Street, Glasgow.

William Liddel, Merchant, Glasgow.

William M'Gavin, Banker, Glasgow.

Robert Dalglish, Dean of Guild, Glasgow.

Ralph Wardlaw, D. D., George Street, Glasgow.

John Dick, D. D., S. T. P., Glasgow.

Robert Brodie, A. M., Minister, Glasgow.

William Kidston, Minister, Campbell Street, Glasgow.

James Ewing, Merchant, Glasgow.

In granting the influence of his name Principal McFarlane wrote, "I feel thoroughly satisfied of the Academy's respectability and usefulness, and am happy to add my testimony to that of Principal Baird, and other gentlemen, who have united in recommending it to the public. I beg you to communicate to Dr. McCulloch the expression of my good wishes for the Seminary over which he presides."

Shortly after Dr. McCulloch sailed from Nova Scotia the Rev. Dr. McGregor addressed a Memorial to the Secession Church, describing the condition of the country with regard to higher education, the efforts made by the Presbyterian Church in its behalf, and for the spread of the gospel, and appealing for sympathy and aid. From this the following extracts are taken, "Prejudices against our Institution have been fostered.... by some Scottish ministers who maintain that no Presbyterian preacher ought ever to be raised in Nova Scotia, because the Communion of the Church of Scotland cannot be extended to any minister who has not studied divinity in a Scottish University."

The Rev. John McKinlay was requested by the Trustees of the Academy at this time to prepare a statement to be sent

to the Glasgow Society. He entered fully into the state of the country and of ecclesiastical matters, setting forth the characteristics and spirit of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, repeating those views of its freedom from sectarianism, and its object in founding the Academy, detailed in the preceding pages. If any notice was taken of this paper Mr. McKinlay was unaware of it. Containing as it did an exposure of misrepresentations of correspondents of the Society in Nova Scotia, and coming from a man of Mr. McKinlay's high character, publication would have been undesirable, and refutation impossible. In a Supplement to the Annual Report of the Glasgow Society the Synod's Memorial was reviewed. To this review, which among other reflections accused Dr. McCulloch of selfishness, he replied through the columns of the Edinburgh "Free Press." Writing to a friend at this time he says: "I have many sins to be forgiven, but sacrificing either religion or liberty to my own interests is a crime of which I am not very guilty. I have taught the Grammar School for seven years, and the Academy for eleven, and £50 would cover all the fees I ever received. At that very time I was told that if I joined the Church of England I would receive a situation worth my acceptance."

It did not accord with the views of the Secretary of the Society to be in any way connected with a church which was the offspring of the Secession—a church that by its purity and the high character of many of its ministers was rapidly rising into public notice, and threatened ere long by its very voluntarism to give trouble to a Church where settlements were made by the strong arm of the law, and stipends paid by legal arrangement. Its incipient aggressive character indicated its latent powers, and what had been tolerated as innocuous was beginning to be regarded with a strong spice of the old spirit of the days of the Erskines.

"In April, 1829, a Commission of the Secession Synod issued a circular in which they say:

"With such prospects of usefulness, and such successful exertions counteracted by avowed hostility to dissenting interests, the Academy has shown claims on the benevolence of christians in Britain. Our brethren are struggling for a Sem-

inary which may secure to their offspring the benefits of learning, and religious principle. Their very success has aroused opposition, and because they proceeded from the Secession Church their Institution is the object of hostility, is excluded from the patronage to which it is justly entitled, and is struggling for existence. Now, when they are opposed and thwarted, they have asked our sympathy. Shall we say, "you must struggle alone?" For the sake of Him who has honoured you to plant the gospel in the waste places of the wilderness we ask you to show that you feel for them in their difficulties."

To describe in detail Dr. McCulloch's daily life in the prosecution of his work in Scotland would serve no good purpose. It was the life of every Church "beggar," intensified in its misery by some things that are happily matters of the past. The Secession Church was in a manner just emerging from the difficulties connected with its recent reunion, and its struggles for existence against a powerful Establishment. Its ministers and members were too deeply absorbed in their own troubles to have much thought for others as yet. The age had not learned the duty of the strong to help the weak, and seemed either ignorant, or unbelieving, as to its blessedness. The contentings of brethren are not the best means of awakening and extending sympathy. It takes time to clear away the desolations of the battlefield, and much time and much grace to forget the warrior spirit. After more than a century, christian brethren are still wasting in mutual antagonism those energies that should be employed in fighting the battles of the Lord. But this spirit hastens to its death.

In his effort to evoke the sympathies of the Secession in aid of our native ministry, Dr. McCulloch had relied confidently upon the brotherhood of Scotsmen, nationally, and spiritually, but in this he was sorely disappointed. He met a state of matters that embittered his spirit, and left memories that he tried to silence. Many of whom he expected better things, turned a deaf ear to his tale, and some declined to give him access to their pulpits.

Writing to the Rev. Robert Hall of Kelso, he says of his Edinburgh experience, "I have been meeting with things that I will not commit to paper. I will speak to you of some that

bear upon my case," and to a friend at home he says, "I had determined to return to you with my finger in my mouth," but fully alive to the bearing of his mission on the success of his work at home, both then, and in the future, he resolved to smother his feelings, and make the best of the situation.

Of the extent and bitterness of the sacrifice his letters give ample evidence. Toil and travel he could endure, to privation and hardship he could accommodate himself; but to the coldness of some, the scarcely concealed doubts and antagonism of others, he could not patiently bow. It is easy to account for despondency on the receipt of such a letter as the following: "Nothing can be done for your friends. We have to provide for our poor. Our Session met for the purpose, but I had not the courage to state the case. We will be happy to see you, but no hope of pecuniary aid. I sent your paper to the members of Presbytery, but expected no returns, and received none." Marked exceptions to this treatment were found in Professor Paxton, Drs. Ritchie and Brown of Edinburgh, Drs. Mitchell, Heugh and Dick of Glasgow, and his relatives, Dr. Hall of Edinburgh and Rev. Robert Hall of Kelso. Time was fully occupied in travelling—no easy matter then—in answering questions, dispelling doubts, removing false impressions, canvassing friends, and combatting foes, until his spirit was wearied, and his health undermined. He was laid aside for some time at the home of Dr. Hall, where he was attended by Dr. Abercrombie, to whose skill and attention, under Providence, he owed his life.

The following extracts are from some of his letters at the time; "I would rather toil night and day at home than go begging. When friends in Edinburgh come to Nova Scotia on an errand similar to mine, I must try to remember, that I, myself, in the land of my fathers, have known the heart of a stranger."

"I persuade myself that the cause is good. It involves the preaching of the gospel to many souls, and to get into the slough of despond will not help it. Instead of settling down in the mire I need to be active."

"I am in a strange country, and the only individual, I believe, who ever visited Britain upon a religious mission,

without success. A person in such circumstances cannot write with much spirit. After suffering all my life for being a Seceder, I did consider myself as having a fair claim upon the brethren in Britain. I am an alien among them."

✓ "The papers give such fearful accounts of the distress in the West country, that I would be ashamed to set up my face among necessitous beggars, and though my face were of brass, what would it avail? There is still another reason which influences me powerfully. I must not put it in the power of any Churchman to say that I came picking up money, and afterward sent out my philippic,"—referring to his reply to the review of the Synod's Memorial by the Secretary of the Colonial Society. This would undoubtedly be said, and might eventually do me more harm than the loss of a little cash. If I get any by delaying a little I shall get it honorably. If I do not get it I must e'en want. I have passed the Rubicon." "I have written to Mr. ——— that if he give me encouragement I will be with him on Sabbath, but I have not yet heard from him. I had expected to hear sooner. Beggars are apt to be in much greater haste than the bountiful. All Scottish refuge seems to fail me but Glasgow. After Coldstream I have only Aberdeen to apply to, and then I shall return to Glasgow to take shipping for America. I wish I had never left it."

✓ In 1826 commercial depression was at its height, and perhaps the Church, while sharing in the scorching process, was learning to appreciate the duty of giving, by an aroused sense of dependence upon God, and the fervor of appeals to his interference. The public mind of the Church has greatly improved since those days, at least in the line of liberality, and a disappointed applicant for aid is a person unknown. In the prosecution of his work Dr. McCulloch was ably assisted by James Mitchell Esq., of Glasgow, who has been already mentioned, and by the Rev. Henry Renton, colleague to Rev. Robert Hall. In season, and out of season, their influence and cooperation were at his service. Long years after he was in his grave as the writer sat by the hearth of his dearest

earthly friend, the history of that visit was recounted, and the causes of its limited success.

From many friends, Dr. McCulloch received at this time gifts of valuable works, especially from the proprietors of 'Blackwoods.' Some contributions were of a ludicrous character. One party, in sending a variety of publications, called his special attention to a treatise on testing the quality of rum! In this connection a gift kindly sent out for the use of the Nova Scotia Synod may be mentioned. A Mrs. Weir, anxious to promote the cause of religion in the Colonies, provided a printing press which she hoped would be employed in printing tracts, and literature of an inexpensive kind. The donor had no idea of the difficulties in the way of carrying out her intention. Thanks were returned by the Synod, and there the matter rested, and the press lay for some time as a piece of useless lumber, until some of Dr. McCulloch's family mastered the business sufficiently to bring out a few Sabbath School reports, two pamphlets on baptism by the Rev. Duncan Ross, a sermon by the Rev. Hugh Graham on Eccles. 4-9, and a quantity of law forms. There for years the press lay idle until the idea was suggested of sending it to Dr. Geddie for the use of the New Hebrides Mission.

At a meeting of the Secession Synod in Scotland in 1826, a Committee was appointed to report on the best means of aiding the Academy. This action was the result of representations by Dr. McCulloch, concerning the condition of the country and the origin of the Academy, with a strong appeal to the Synod to sustain the Church it had planted. On the recommendation of the Committee, to which Dr. McCulloch's name had been added, the Synod formed, on Nov. 29th of this year, "The Glasgow Society for promoting the interests of religion and liberal education in the British North American Provinces," The Revs. Drs. Mitchell and Kidston were appointed Secretaries. Gentlemen of different denominations were connected with the Society, which existed for several years, and remitted at one time \$2,405.00, thus enabling the Academy Trustees to meet the demands of the hour, but interest gradually decreased and remittances ceased. If its effort had been

met by corresponding effort in Nova Scotia the Institution might soon have been independent of Government aid, but it was not so to be, and while we see the consequences of human failure, we see the reason in the developed purposes of God.

The students of the Secession were accustomed to select annually some special Church enterprise, and to devote their energies during the vacation to collecting for its support. Aroused by the appeal mentioned they determined to throw the year's effort in support of the Academy, pledging themselves to raise \$1600.00, and so earnest were they in their work that they actually doubled the amount. Of little benefit as was the mission to Britain materially, it was not altogether unproductive of good. It tended to dispel ignorance of the work and sacrifices of the ministers of our Church in Nova Scotia, and of the difficulties with which they had to contend, and further, it helped to open the eyes of many good men to the extraordinary anomaly of Scotsmen at home contributing of their means to crush Scotsmen abroad.

Before leaving Britain he was asked to attend a meeting of the directors of the Colonial Society, for the purpose of discussing the Memorial of the Nova Scotia Synod. This interview led to no satisfactory result, as will appear later; although the Society had already passed a resolution to the effect that "it was not their wish to interfere in any way with those ministers already settled by the Church in Nova Scotia." It may seem strange that an effort sustained by such testimony as the mission from Nova Scotia, confirmed by such men as Dr. McGregor, and Mr. McKinlay; commended by the Principals of Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities; and attested by the Secession Synod of Scotland, should have met the treatment which it did from the Glasgow Society. The Secretary, a devoted son of the Kirk, and believer in the truthfulness of his correspondents in Nova Scotia, was grossly misled by them. A prominent gentleman in Nova Scotia thus writes to a friend in Scotland in reference to the Society: "Surely they must be ignorant of the character of their emissaries, or the consequences of their doings. Had I not witnessed the want of principle here, I never could have believed

that such persistency in error could have been displayed with you."

On October 8th 1826. Dr. McCulloch sailed from Greenock for home, anticipating a speedy reunion with his loved family, but God ordered otherwise. The weather soon became boisterous; four times the captain put to sea, and each time was forced to put back to Lamlash Bay, Arran. On the fifth attempt he gained the open ocean, though only to be "driven of the wind and tossed." While walking upon deck one day a sea broke over the vessel and Dr. McCulloch was nearly swept over the side; had he not caught the end of a rope his work on earth would have terminated. He landed on the 1st of December; only those who have been placed in similar circumstances can appreciate the feeling of relief experienced by family and friends, when news of the ship's arrival reached Pictou. It was in after days that his family learned of some of the causes of his almost unnatural joy as he sat again by his own fireside.

CHAPTER IX

The Glasgow Society—Opposition.

The return home meant to Dr. McCulloch the resumption of suspended toil, and was the signal for fresh attacks by his foes. Before this, the review of the Synod's Memorial by the Secretary of the Colonial Society, in the Supplement to the Annual Report, and Dr. McCulloch's reply in the Edinburgh "Free Press," had been republished in the Halifax papers. The "Supplement" having been circulated in Nova Scotia, he published a series of letters in the "Acadian Recorder" calling the Secretary to account. These letters were subsequently issued in Glasgow in pamphlet form, but a reply was never penned. The following are a few extracts:

"You, sir, in your Report affirm that the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia have told your Society that they have got before them, and they may sheer off when they please. But the Memorial of the Church in Nova Scotia says to you, 'Were it practicable for you to provide for them (the destitute) evangelical ministers, and respectable teachers, you would doubtless contribute to their temporal and spiritual welfare. We beg to assure you that we will receive them with kindness, and as far as their labours (without interfering with our congregations) are subservient to the increase of gospel knowledge, we will bid them God-speed.'"

Your Committee, Sir, patronize the very places for which the gospel has been provided. Your field of operation, according to your own showing, turns out to be the very headquarters of Presbyterianism, belonging to the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia. Again you say, 'your directors were all along at a loss to know what was the specific object of Dr. McCulloch and of the Memorial he laid before them, and they repeatedly urged him to state explicitly the plan he proposed. This he declined to do.' Sir, the Memorial was before the directors dealing fully with the entire question of Presbyterianism in the Colonies, and suggesting the union of evangelical Presbyterian clergy—the concentration of effort in training a native ministry—and combining energies in Scotland and the Colonies on gospel propagation. Again, Sir, you say, 'In the progress of time it is not unlikely that these congregations may come to be supplied with ministers from Pictou, and any

attempt to compel them at all times to be satisfied with such, would certainly not tend to union, nor to the best interests of religion among the people.' And the report goes on to prove the "compelling." You knew that we had a Society to assist Presbyterians to obtain the gospel, even from the Church of Scotland, and that frequent appeals has been made to your Church by Dr. McGregor. In your Report you say, 'It would have been of great importance to the directors to have been in possession of Dr. McCulloch's Memorial as soon as it reached the country, and particularly previous to the general meeting and the publication of the Annual Report.'

When that Memorial was presented, the directors, incontrovertible as were its statements, unanimously resolved to make no change in their Constitution. You say, 'The directors have given the Memorial very patient attention, and treated it with every mark of respect it could claim.' Further than a few desultory remarks the Memorial was not made the subject of discussion, and at this meeting you were not present. My presence was requested at a subsequent meeting, expressly that you might not be absent when it was brought under consideration. Though you had never seen the Memorial, you expressed not the slightest wish for information. This while I was present, was the whole attention the Memorial received. From the time I laid it on the Secretary's table till I carried it away it was neither lifted nor looked at." You say, 'Dr. McCulloch, when asked if the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia was competent to supply the whole of British America, replied in the affirmative.' The directors cannot have forgotten that when you referred to those cases of want in the Canadas, I explicitly stated that respecting those Provinces, I could give no information, and so far from appropriating the whole of British America, you yourself say in your "Supplement," 'the whole of Canada was passed over by Dr. McCulloch merely because he knew little of it.' The Memorial directly confined the operations of the Church of Nova Scotia to the Lower Provinces. The question put to me was, if the Synod judged themselves competent to provide for the Provinces mentioned."

In the Report, on the authority of clerical correspondents in Pictou, the Secretary had brought forward the case of Lochaber Settlement, in the name of two hundred and seventeen highlanders, 'Who since they pitched their tents in the woods, have never heard a sermon in their mountain tongue, that only which they understand.' Dr. McCulloch's reply to this

statement was, that there were only eight Protestant families in Lochaber, and that one of these was from the lowlands; that in the adjacent settlements there are only three families that could be united in a congregation, and of these only one man and four women were unable to profit by an English speaking pastor; that while the Secretary's correspondents passed and repassed through Lochaber without one word of preaching in their native tongue, the Rev. Dr. McGregor, and the Rev. Hugh Dunbar had visited and preached, and the Rev. Hugh Ross, and Rev. Angus McGillivray had dispensed the Lord's Supper.

That the good men of the Glasgow Society, or its contributors, ever contemplated the use that was made of their means and influence I cannot believe. Those acquainted with the management of Societies are aware of the large amount of power left to the Secretary, leading men being mere figure heads, to give respectability to the organization. Had the correspondence from Nova Scotia been submitted to the calm inspection of the directors, much would have remained unpublished until verified. I should have preferred to give less notice to this Society, but its attitude to the Church in Nova Scotia, and its published reflections upon Dr. McCulloch's character, forbid me so doing.

Mention has been made of clerical correspondents whose representations—with those of other opponents—did much to bias the views of the directors of the Glasgow Society. The reference is especially to the Rev. D. A. Fraser, who came from Scotland in the year 1817, and the Rev. K. J. McKenzie who arrived in 1824. The former was the son of the Parish minister on the Isle of Mull. For a time after his arrival he seemed inclined to cooperate with the brethren of the Secession and lived on friendly terms with Dr. McGregor, his near neighbor. Ministers already on the ground were ready to do all in their power to advance his interests, hoping that in him they had found a co-worker and a brother, and that he would be the means of terminating existing divisions. Shortly after his arrival he was invited to attend an examination of the Academy, which he did, and expressed his approbation of the course of

instruction, and surprise at the progress of the students. When a vacancy in the Trusteeship occurred he was nominated to fill the position, but before the nomination could take legal effect, having as was generally surmised, taken counsel with Mr. Wallace, he commenced to fan the flame of sectarianism and political strife by playing upon the prejudices of the Highlanders, assuring them that the object of the Secession ministers was to pull down the Kirk, and keep her clergy out of Nova Scotia.

The necessities of the party required that the Highlanders should be kept in a state of chronic agitation, and as a means of accomplishing this it was well known that no cry would be so successful as that of their Kirk in danger. Those who gave currency to this were well aware that so anxious were the Secession ministers to supply the wants of their countrymen, that repeated appeals were made to the Established Church and even money raised to pay expenses of any who might respond. On this matter, and at this very time, Dr. McCulloch was in correspondence with parties in Scotland. He writes to Professor Paxton of Edinburgh: "We have much need of Gaelic ministers, and will gladly take a good one from the Church of Scotland." To this the Professor replies: "I have begun negotiations with two students, and I think if you could defray their expenses they could be secured." The money, £26, was sent, and Dr. McCulloch says, "I hope we shall not be disappointed of the two in the spring." The answer comes as follows: "I thought I had secured them, but they have accepted calls from their own Church in Canada, and there is nothing for you but to raise ministers for yourselves." Applications were also made by Dr. McGregor, but they all failed.

At the time of Mr. MacKenzie's arrival in Pictou there was a small congregation claiming to belong to the Establishment, composed of a few earnest Scotsmen, with a balance of the discontented. Of this Church he became the pastor. Mr. MacKenzie was a man of cultivated mind, thoroughly educated and wielding a clever pen. Ascertaining how matters ecclesiastical and political stood in Pictou, he at once took his



Wm. Culloch

position. He saw no beauty in Presbyterianism apart from the Established Church. Assuming the role of leader, he easily succeeded in drawing away the Rev. Mr. Fraser, not only from all association with the Secession, but into active opposition. Mr. Fraser had not a mind to cope with or control Mr. McKenzie, and quickly succumbed to his influence. Identified with the Secession Church and people, and with the Liberal party in the county, though more by the action of Government in framing the Charter than by the wish of its friends, the Academy was the butt at which the keenest arrows were aimed. At an interview with the Trustees in 1826 the Rev. Messrs. Fraser and McKenzie objected to its entire management, and urged that it be reduced to a mere High School. Of course this proposal was rejected. Thereupon their true object appeared in a demand that Dr. McCulloch should be prohibited from lecturing to the divinity class, that neither in nor out of the Academy should he teach Theology.

It has been previously stated that the Synod by permission of the Trustees, had occupied one of the rooms of the Academy where the Divinity students met on alternate Saturdays. This trifling concession, for want of more tangible ground of complaint, had been eagerly seized by opponents as a violation of the Charter; it was stated that the Institution was being perverted by the Trustees, and was becoming a Theological Seminary. The terms of the application for the use of the room showed that it was requested and granted as a favor; that the Trustees had no connection with the teaching of Divinity, nor the Synod control over the room beyond mere liberty of occupation, liable to be terminated without apology or excuse, at a moment's warning. Dr. McCulloch's reply to the demand that he should give up the Divinity Class was that rather than do so he would resign his connection with the Academy.

To Mr. McKenzie belongs the honour of presenting to the Legislature the first petition against the Institution, with the usual objections of sectarianism, violation of the Charter, etc. It proceeds to state that there existed "no preparatory School for training young men to enter the Institution," when he knew well that a little over one quarter of a mile from the Academy

there was a Grammar School supported by Government. In that School Dr. McCulloch had taught for many years, and had trained students whose attainments when tested by Glasgow University had received for the young men the degree of M. A.; and at the very time the petition was penned it was under the care of Rev. John McKinlay, M. A., of the same University, and known as one of the best classical and mathematical teachers in the Province. The petitioners complained "that the elements of a Common School education were not imparted in the Academy, and that it was perverted to sectarian purposes." The object was not to improve the education of the Province, for an opportunity of co-operating with the Trustees in their effort to secure a higher standard had been offered to, and practically accepted by the Rev. Mr. Fraser previous to the arrival of Mr. McKenzie. The object was to destroy, not to improve, and of this sufficient evidence has been given in the course of these notes. Beside the Grammar School there was, within a gunshot of his own Church, an efficient Common School, taught by a very intelligent Scotchman, a member of his own congregation.

Strange to say the men who formed the majority of the Council, though aware that what was objectionable in the Charter was their own work, and further, that year after year they had been accustomed to vote the usual sum in support of the Grammar School, were so determined to carry out their project that truth and honesty went to the wall. The representations of reliable men were as nothing when a party sectarian purpose was to be accomplished. The bill for a permanent endowment against which the above petition was presented passed the Assembly, but the Council, unwilling to render themselves more odious, and hoping to blind the public by the appearance of friendliness to the Institution, so completely altered the bill, as to place the Academy at the mercy of the Government, known to be hostile to its very existence. Of course on its return to the Assembly it was rejected. At a meeting of the Trustees in Jan. 1827 the following resolution was adopted. "That they consider the power vested in the Government already sufficient for all purposes of surveillance

over the Academy, and that in order to obtain a permanent grant they will admit of no modification of the Charter, with respect to the appointment of Trustees which shall introduce into its counsels individuals indifferent to its interest."

In 1827 no bill was introduced owing to the absence of Geo. Smith Esq., one of the Trustees, and a member of the Assembly. The Council, imagining that they could safely defy public opinion, and even the wish of the Assembly, decided on refusing any aid, and threw out the Annual grant, assigning as a reason what was not a fact, "that the Trustees had pursued a course hostile to the Church of England, and calculated to bring Windsor College into disrespect by parading its restrictions," and declaring that "while the present Trustees were in office they would grant no aid." A second resolution of the Assembly for temporary support met the same fate. A resolution of the House then passed granting sixteen hundred dollars for the year, subject to the Governor's disposal, provided he should be satisfied with the state of the Academy. To this the Council assented, being alarmed at the firm stand taken by the House. After due enquiry and a highly favorable report, His Excellency signed the warrant for the grant. While thus harassed by opponents and embarrassed by the Council the Trustees were devising means for increasing the usefulness of the Academy by establishing a third professorship, partly to lighten the burdens of those already engaged, and partly to enlarge the course of study.

To arouse the friends of education, by direction of the Trustees, Dr. McCulloch prepared a statement of the condition of the Academy, and of the object of the Trustees in this new movement. The following is an extract: "Of the efficiency of the Academy the Trustees produce the best proof in the numerous students, who in the pulpit, at the bar, and in other respectable situations, with honor to themselves and benefit to the country, are now exemplifying the fruits of their improvement." But this effort proved a failure. The Trustees statement contained a grateful tribute to the memory of Sir John Sherbrooke, the only Governor of the Province who

had made officials feel that he was governing Nova Scotia, not they.

In contrast to the above statement of the work of the Academy may be quoted a letter from one of the clergy in Pictou. "All the diligence of the Trustees has collected no more than eight scholars, beside apprentices, and the Doctor's sons. Here is the list. At Latin 3—at Greek 3—at Mathematics 3—at Hebrew 12." He then adds, referring to addresses at the annual examination, "The Rev. gentleman, (Dr. McGregor) stated without a blush that the Institution was free to all." Well knowing that such was the fact, that no tests for students existed, and that no questions as to denominational connection were even asked, he continues, "What can we think of those who are so indifferent to what they state?" At that time the students numbered twenty seven or thirty, and among them not one apprentice.

Of the action of the Council not a few in the Assembly who had been indifferent were led to express their strong disapprobation. The amendments of the Council showed their ignorance of the actual state of the public mind. They proposed to endow the Academy, but to put Dr. McCulloch out of the Trust; of the other fourteen Trustees the Governor was to appoint seven. On the demise of one of the elected, (that is of the remaining seven, who were to remain in the trust) the Board was to choose a successor, subject to the Governor's veto. The intention was to appoint Messrs McKenzie and Fraser, through whose instrumentality the Institution would soon either be destroyed entirely, or under the Bishop's control, which would have been the same thing. How the new Trustees would have acted had the bill become law was shown by their subsequent course.

By request of the Board Dr. McCulloch prepared a vindication of their resolution of Jan. 1827, and a petition to Government. The Council attacked the petition, because it asked the removal from the Charter of injurious restrictions, and showed a design to make the Academy a rallying point for Dissenters, and therefore an engine against the Episcopal Church. Indignant at the action of the Council, the Assembly

passed a grant of £500; placing that sum at the disposal of the Governor, irrespective of the concurrence of the Council. When the Assembly resumed next day it was thought that they had acted hastily in overlooking the Council. It was therefore agreed to insert the words "with the advice of the Council." Of course the Council refused assent.

Never had the Assembly such an opportunity of taking the stand that their own privileges demanded. It is true that their bill was unconstitutional, but not more so than the Council's right to discuss and veto a money bill. It may be said that the greater part of the difficulties of the Academy arose from the Bishop's* attitude, but in a different direction there was a danger, which but for his Lordship's antagonism might not have materialized, but of which he availed himself. This was the unconstitutional claim of the Council to represent the House of Lords, and also to exercise a function, which, the Lords, if they ever claimed it, had long since abandoned—the claim to sit in judgment on strictly money bills. As in every such Assembly there were men in the Legislature whose prospects would have been ruined by a manly, independent, course, the frown of Government being sufficient to consign the refractory to the cold shades of neglect, hence their silent acquiescence in, or base support of arbitrary action on the part of the Council. There was not the "esprit du corps" which would today combine the members in a firm resistance of any encroachment on their constitutional rights. In such cases, party, not privilege, largely regulated action. The Bishop could not see that in a generous sympathy with other bodies he would rally around himself and his Church those who would stand by him in time of real need. Through the press the most shameful falsehoods were published; Dr. McCulloch's character, and his loyalty, as well as that of his friends, was openly questioned.

Mainly at the request of the Trustees, Government issued a Commission to Judge Chipman, directing him to institute a thorough investigation into the management of the Academy. When the Commission met, the leading complainants, Messrs Fraser and McKenzie, were themselves absent,

*Rev. John Inglis, D. D.,

but employed another to present a paper which was utterly beyond his power to draw. The following are some of the false charges and inaccuracies which it contained: "When applying to the Legislature for aid the Trustees led friends to expect that the Academy was for both sexes" "It was founded to spread their own sectarianism."— "The return of receipts and expenses was open to suspicion." "In 1825 there were only thirteen, and in 1826 twelve students, including the Doctor's sons," and "the views of the Trustees were only political."

The Report of the Commission is not in the writer's hands, but its character may be judged from the substance of an address presented to the Governor by the Trustees, in which they express their gratitude for the appointment of the Commission, and their assurance that the investigation will advance the interests of the Academy. They state that they have every reason to be satisfied with the candor and impartiality of those who conducted the enquiry, and express regret that gentlemen named on the Commission had declined to act, being themselves intimately acquainted with the origin of some of the charges brought against the Academy, and as it was the intention of the Trustees to have claimed their assistance in proving such accusations groundless. The Trustees are assured that had they attended, the Report of the Commission would have contained positive contradiction of the charges made. The address concludes thus: "Though their design in starting the Academy was patronized by the Government, it has been uniformly and violently opposed by the influence of the present Bishop of Nova Scotia, and your memorialists are sorry to add that from his station he has had it in his power to prejudice, both in this Province and in Britain, those whose duty it was to encourage the Academy, and who, but for his statements, might have given it their patronage."

During the years 1820-'21-'22-'23 the Trustees had with great difficulty secured Provincial aid to the amount of £325 annually. Anxious to avoid these yearly contests they, in 1823, petitioned for a permanent grant, with such changes in the Charter as would remove all appearance of sectarianism,

and yet preserve Government control. With little difficulty such a bill twice passed the Assembly, but was rejected by the Council. The Governor being absent at the time, his place as Administrator was filled by Mr. Wallace. By his absence from the Council friends of the Institution would equal its enemies, and the casting vote be in the hands of the President, thus affording every reason to believe that the bill would pass, and this harassing question be set at rest.

It was suggested, however, to Mr. Wallace to express doubts of the power of an Administrator to acquiesce in such a bill, and it being understood in the Assembly that he had announced his determination to withhold his assent, the bill was laid aside, and the favorable opportunity lost. This was a mere local act, infringing upon no prerogative of the Crown, and requiring no Imperial sanction, but by some so-styled friends, as well as foes, it was considered best not to act when the power was matter of doubtful disputation. Proof is now on record that personal interests on the part of some supposed friends rendered it undesirable to come into collision with the fountain of favors, and further, that Mr. Wallace's denouncement was simply a feeler, which might or might not succeed in preventing the passage of the bill, and that if it had passed he would have signed it rather than come into collision with the Legislature. The combination of the House and Council in passing the Act would have left him without a shred of excuse for refusal, especially as Judges Haliburton and Stewart were in its favor. They would thus have recognized the Administrator's right to act in the case. His object therefore was to stop the Act in the House, as once passed by both branches of the Legislature he would have shrunk from the double contest. Mr. Wallace's plan was cunningly devised, and well he knew his men, and the influence of human selfishness. This quibble virtually settled the fate of the Institution.

In this year, 1825, a Committee of Assembly was appointed to bring in a report on the character and condition of the Academy. Of this Committee C. R. Fairbanks, Esq., was Chairman. In the report Mr. Fairbanks says:

"The Committee are of opinion that the Academy is a highly useful Institution, conducted on an excellent system, peculiarly adapted to the wants, and accords with the sentiments of a majority of the Province in regard to higher education; that its support will continue to be a favorite object with the greater part of the Dissenters, from its total exemption from any disqualification to students, originality in religious distinctions, and the careful attention of its conductors to the morals of those who attend it; that sound classical education and other branches commonly taught in higher schools are brought down to the means and ability of those, who, if the Academy did not exist, would be unable to provide them for their children; that the Institution possesses decided advantages in many respects for those students who are destined for the ministry in the Presbyterian Church, and other dissenting bodies, and is for this object indispensably necessary, if they (ministers) are to be supplied by the youth of the Province. The Committee are obliged to believe that the Institution will be attended by a class of persons, who on various accounts are, and will be incapable of prosecuting their studies at Windsor, or in the Institution of doubtful stability now forming in Halifax. They deem it their duty, under the clearest convictions of the invaluable benefit which education confers on a country, to recommend the Academy to the continued support and fostering care of the Assembly."

The report then recommends the power of granting degrees, and the name, privileges, and distinctions of a College. The result of this report was a bill for a permanent endowment of four hundred pounds, which the Council rejected. On this the minority, consisting of Honorables Chas. Morris and S. B. Robie, with Judges Haliburton and Stewart, protested as follows:

"First, because we think that the Dissenters of this Province, who compose more than four-fifths of its population, have entitled themselves to the favorable consideration of the Legislature by their orderly, steady and loyal conduct, and the cheerful support so long given to His Majesty's Government in Nova Scotia. Secondly, because when £400 stg. have been paid annually for thirty-six years out of the revenue, to a College, which confines its honors to Episcopalians who pay but one fifth of the revenue, Dissenters who pay the other four-fifths are entitled to, at least, an equal sum to support an Institution where their children can obtain the benefits of a liberal education. Thirdly, because we do not think that the remote-

ness of Pictou, as it has been termed, should have any weight against the wishes of Dissenters, who by their representatives in three successive sessions of the Legislature have declared in favor of that situation, where out of twelve hundred persons not one hundred members of the Episcopal Church could be found. Fourthly, because we think the bill is free from all objections to which other bills were liable, as it gives the Government sufficient control to prevent the employment of teachers inimical to our political institutions. Fifthly, that the feeling on behalf of the Institution will still manifest itself, and that it will continue to exist, but that the Government will not have that salutary influence over it which it would have if this bill were made law. Sixthly, that as members of the Established Church, that its best interests will be consulted by a spirit of liberality to our dissenting fellow Christians,—that even policy, independent of other motives, dictates to us as minority the advantage of conciliating Dissenters, and showing them that we feel that the Church of England has nothing to fear from the diffusion of knowledge. Lastly, because we value the harmony which has so long prevailed among Christians of all denominations in this Province, and we fear that the rejection of this bill, while the annual allowance to Windsor is continued, will excite a spirit of hostility to the Established Church which will seriously disturb the peace of the country, as thirty years experience has convinced us who enter this protest that every attempt to give or to retain exclusive privileges to the Church of England has invariably operated to its disadvantage.”

CHAPTER X.

The Colonial Patriot—Reply to Secret Charges—Sir James Kempt.

The great weakness of the Liberal party was the want of a periodical that would reflect its views, and thus rally the party into a compact and powerful organization. That if united they would possess power, they knew, but there was a lack of cohesion, and cohesion was the thing to be dreaded by opponents. After long deliberation it was decided to make an effort to establish such a paper as would meet their objects, and on ✓ Dec. 7th, 1827, the "Colonial Patriot" was started in Pictou, as a weekly journal, under the charge of Mr William Milne, with Mr. Jotham Blanchard as editor.

The appearance of the paper excited much surprise. The idea of a publication outside of Halifax was an invasion of the rights of the capital. In this unpretending sheet there was nothing at first to alarm, though sometimes an article appeared which indicated the rising spirit of its proprietors. As time passed and they ceased to be frightened at their own shadow, the editorials became more pointed and aggressive, occasionally ruffling the feathers of officials. It was commonly reported that Dr. McCulloch was at the bottom of the mischief. When the 'Patriot' was started he was asked to be its editor, but refused, feeling that such a connection would operate against his educational projects. A writer in the press having charged him with the editorship he gave a prompt denial in the following terms, "I am not its editor, I have neither directly nor indirectly had intercourse with its proprietors, I never either wrote or saw a sentence in it till it was submitted to the public. I am not even one of its subscribers. As far as I know, neither directly nor indirectly, has any of my family connection with it, nor interference in its management." Something more was required to induce him to join in the contest, and that thing his enemies in their blindness provided. When in Halifax in 1827, as was his custom he called at Government House. He found the Governor surrounded

by a number of officers and civilians. For a time conversation flowed on pleasantly, when suddenly Sir James put the question: "By the way, Dr. McCulloch, may I ask, do you ever write in the Patriot?" Indignant at the trap thus sprung upon him he replied, "No, Sir James, I never wrote a syllable in the Patriot." As he told the story himself he added, "While replying to the question I said to myself, 'I will make you regret this insult.'" He and Sir James Kempt never met again. On returning home he penned one of those editorials which made the "Patriot" a power.

✓ By exposing misgovernment they gave concentration to public opinion, and by citation of individual cases of hardship evoked a sense of injustice which made officials dread its weekly issue. The writer can well remember how they stood aghast at the audacity of its contributors, and found language weak to denounce their disloyalty.

Office holders who regarded the Province as a game preserve for themselves and their families, and who parcelled out the land in blocks of thousands of acres, were especially bitter in their denunciations. As exposure followed exposure, and the true principles of civil and religious liberty were discussed, and contrasted with the contemptuous course of the Council; as delinquents were arraigned by name, and their excessive salaries as contrasted with the work done, were held up to the public gaze, the rage of the assailed was unbounded. So far were they prepared to go that a prominent Pictou politician, stung by a castigation in the paper, carried out a midnight attack upon the office, and forced poor little Milne, the printer, to name the author.

The scathing editorials of the "Patriot" were hailed as the beginning of a new era. It was felt that the spell of arbitrary power was being broken; at least that there were some who were not afraid to dare its worst, men who neither courted the favor, nor dreaded the power of placemen, and to whom longer endurance was a social crime. Generally the press of the capital was silent respecting misgovernment. After Lord Goderich's despatch, to be referred to later, it was realized that all the wisdom of the world was not in the capital, and there

was evidence of a change in the tide of public opinion, so much so that the Halifax press took courage, and began to discuss public questions more freely, giving thus wider circulation to the utterances of the "Patriot."

All this reacted upon the choice of members of the Assembly and upon legislative action, which ultimately compelled the Imperial authorities to interfere in the interests of peace—a step which was hastened not a little by the threatening aspect of affairs in what was then known as Canada—the, Upper Provinces.

Here and there in the constituencies and among members of the Assembly, were heard utterances that suggested approaching changes, and that a few years before would have marked the utterer as disloyal. Slowly, very slowly, the Assembly was rising to clearer and more enlarged views of parliamentary rights. The Council's right of disbursement may have been at one time a necessity owing to incomplete organization, but on the establishment of representative government it ceased constitutionally, though neither in the opinion nor practice of the Council. That such men as Judges Stewart and Haliburton should for a moment, as expositors of British law and practice, have stood by the Council in their claim, with the people's representatives sitting in deliberation in the opposite end of the same building, is today perhaps matter of astonishment.

Of his own connection with "The Patriot" Dr. McCulloch writes. "Nov. 21st 1829. I have for almost a year written a weekly editorial in the 'Colonial Patriot,' which our Council anticipates with dread." In the same letter he says: "I am really borne down, and cannot stand it long. I teach in the Academy. For months I have been on Sabbath preaching ten, twenty, thirty, and forty miles from home. I have been laboring with our Museum, toiled in making chemical preparations, and am now working upon a course of lectures. I have not written to Britain so much as I ought. Do not blame me. I will try to do better. If my British friends forsake me, I doubt enemies here will say, 'There is no help for him in God.' May I be enabled to say, 'Thou art my shield, and the lifter up of my head.'

"Between the latter,—the opposition,—and us, the gauntlet is fairly on the ground. Since the last meeting

of our Legislature we have attacked them right and left in our Pictou 'Patriot,' by argument, sarcasm and drollery, and now I believe they are heartily sorry that they made us their enemies. They conceived themselves so dignified and powerful that no person would dare to offend them; they now find themselves a general laughing stock, even among those with whom they associate. Our 'Patriot,' is as eagerly run after in Halifax as your papers were in the hottest of the war. In the meantime we have said nothing about the Academy question. We have attacked the Council only upon general politics.

"By the copy of the 'Patriot' which Mr. Blanchard sends, you will be able to judge in what light I am viewed. The editorial is mine, the rest Mr. Blanchard's. The Bishop and his friends can entertain no doubt respecting the quarter from which their annoyances proceed, but as yet, none of them have come out, and what is more strange, the Halifax papers have not ventured a word, partly, I conjecture, from fear of the country, and partly from want of talent. In the meantime our paper is eagerly read, and is gradually producing effects which will either obtain for us a permanence directly or by revolutionizing the Council, terminate in the same end.

"Since I wrote you last our affairs are neither better nor worse. The Council have cut with us forever. If we cannot put them down we can have no hope from government. You speak of pursuing a moderate course. You do not know our Council. We have given them a summer's roasting in our Pictou paper such as Councillors never received. Sometimes with sound argument we have proved them an unconstitutional body, and everything that is politically bad, and at other times set the whole Province a laughing at them. The most mortifying thing of all is that not one of the Halifax papers have even dared to say that we were writing against them."

In June 1830 he writes of Mr. Blanchard's connection with the paper; "In his exertions he is indefatigable: he is making his talents tell upon them," and adds, "Sorely, I believe, do some of our Councillors rue their proceedings. The 'Colonial Patriot' has wrought them woe, and will work them more."

In the next session of the Legislature Academy affairs were before it. Mr. Alex. Stewart of Cumberland, in the interests of Windsor College, made a violent attack upon the Institution and the Trustees. His object was to lead the Assembly to express their displeasure at the independent tone assumed in the resolution to appeal to the Imperial Govern-

ment, and in the petition to the House. He evidently hoped to defeat the application by bringing official frowns to bear upon the wavering. In this he most signally failed, the House by a vote of 27 to 7 practically endorsing the action of the Trustees in both cases. When the bill for an annual grant was brought up the opposition was led by John Young Esq., not from hostility to the Academy, but being the leader of the Tory party he was opposed to S. G. W. Archibald, one of the Trustees. His opposition was the more strange as two of his sons were educated at the Academy, and one of them, the late G. R. Young, often stated that to Dr. McCulloch's training he owed his life's position and success.

When the bill was before the Council a Conference with the Assembly was requested. At that Conference members of Council stated that in their petition the Trustees had openly declared that they had departed from the principles on which they had obtained their Charter; that at first they had said that they only wanted a Charter; that they had no wish to oppose Windsor, nor any hostility to the Episcopal Church; that instead of this the measures of the Trustees had been adapted to excite hostility among all classes of dissenters, and that therefore they could no longer vote for the Academy. In reply it was conclusively shown that any departure from the original terms had been forced upon them by the Council; that any antagonism to Windsor or to Episcopacy was the result of the Bishop's sectarian procedure, and of the injustice of the Council to Dissenters, who constituted the vast majority of the inhabitants, and who traced the refusal of their just claims to the influence of the Bishop in the Council, and to his untiring efforts to subordinate the Province to Episcopal domination, both in Church and State. As expected the Conference failed of its ostensible object. Apparently asked in hope of settling the vexed question, it was really designed to make the country believe that the Council was desirous to terminate the struggle, and that the unreasonableness of the Academy's friends had caused the failure. Without assigning any reason the Council carried out its threat to continue its opposition.

In accordance with the spirit of the times, when secret accusation was an almost certain means of injuring an enemy whether in official or private circles, charges were made to Government of disaffection to his Majesty on the part of the Trustees, and especially directed against Dr. McCulloch. He thereupon applied to Government for a copy of these charges, which request was refused. In the absence of Sir James Kempt, the Government was then administered by Mr. Wallace. On the return of Sir James, Dr. McCulloch addressed a remonstrance to His Excellency, vindicating the Trustees and himself from secret charges, and proving by documents that to the Council, and not to the Trustees, were owing the difficulties in the working of the Institution on which the charges were based. The following extracts are given as relating to the proposed appeal to Britain.

It is not unknown to your Excellency that in the Government there is a party who without intermission have obstructed the interests of the Pictou Institution. Of the hostility of the Bishop in particular, your memorialists consider themselves as having just ground of complaint.

Had his Lordship referred his opposition to his known dislike of those who do not wish to place themselves under his spiritual jurisdiction, though your memorialists might have grieved that power in the hands of ambition was employed for the destruction of right, they would still have done honour to the integrity of his Lordship's declaration. But having resorted to steps which directly tend to render your memorialists and the Seminary under their charge suspected by the Government, they judge that both his hostility and the ostensible principles on which it is founded should be brought under Your Excellency's consideration. His Lordship has assured the British Government that in exact proportion to the influence of the Established Church would be the immoveable loyalty of the Province, and has communicated to His Majesty's Ministers incorrect views both of the principles and numbers of the dissenting population of these Provinces, and your memorialists believe that on his information Ministers were led to advise His Majesty to withhold from Dissenters a privilege which, had they known the real state of the Province, would have been readily granted. Your memorialists, viewing the Council as appointed by the Crown to cherish loyalty by protecting the rights of subjects, conceived the resolution pass-

ed by the Trustees as necessary both for their (His Majesty's Ministers'), information, and for the success of the Institution. In passing that resolution the Trustees designed consistently with their rights as British subjects, through the medium of Your Excellency, to submit their grievances to the British Government, and they confidently expect that Your Excellency will so represent the loyal demeanor of your memorialists, and of the dissenting population in general that His Majesty's ministers may be induced to adopt measures which will relieve the Academy from oppression and afford Dissenters those rights which a party dependent upon the Crown have hitherto withheld. The Presbyterian Church of this Province has in her Standards declared adherence to the principles and forms of the Church of Scotland. Official information, we are aware, has been given to His Majesty's Ministers that they profess to be Seceders, and it is quite well known that the same statement has been repeatedly made for the purpose of excluding them from those rights which were justly their due from the Provincial Government.

To language such as the above Colonial Governors were not accustomed. This paper might have been quietly pigeon-holed, as had been done in other days, but the times had changed, and what was once done by officials might be dangerous of repetition. As far as any sign appeared, His Excellency seemed inclined to allow things to take their course. With the exception of the case of Sir John Sherbrooke, efforts had been too successful in poisoning the minds of His Majesty's representatives against the Liberal party in Pictou.

When Sir James Kempt was announced as the successor of Lord Dalhousie, it was hoped that from his character, and large experience of men, he too, would be an exception. Dr. McCulloch thus writes of his first visit to Pictou; "Our examination was held on the first of August. Sir James Kempt, the Governor, came up from Halifax, principally for the purpose of being present. On his arrival in the Province, much had been done to prejudice him against us, but fortunately he had a will of his own. When he left us he expressed himself highly gratified. He spoke of the Academy as an Institution which the Province ought to support." But very soon after this it was evident that his mind had been prejudiced, which is shown by the following extract from a letter written to

Dr. McCulloch when in Scotland. "The interests of the Academy, I fear, may feel your absence. Sir James will do everything against it. He is determined to promote the Established Church, and there can be no doubt that the Academy is in his way in that respect."

Sir James was an excellent officer, so far as understanding and applying the letter of his profession was concerned. but he was neither an Abercrombie nor a Moore. Martinets are not the stuff of which good civil rulers are made, and in his case perhaps the fault lay in his training. Regarding the people as he would a regiment of soldiers, he viewed with distrust the man unprepared for prompt obedience, or who talked of human liberty. He stood amid the first throes of that great social upheaval which has revolutionized the world, but apprehended neither its nature nor tendency. In Britain the times were critical. Vast were the difficulties, and all important were the questions to be settled at headquarters, with little inclination to be disturbed by petty complaints from outlying portions of the Empire. Sir James knew well that promotion depended upon the quietude of the Province over which he ruled. Governors incapable of preventing trouble at the Colonial Office had little prospect of rising unless through political influence which it was thought unwise to ignore.

About this time Mr. Blanchard wrote, "The Bishop is threatening us with a prosecution, and we must prepare for him." His Lordship had been sharply handled in the "Patriot;" the Judges also had keenly felt its lash, and this seems to have afforded him a hope that unintentionally biassed by their feelings, they might obtain for him a favorable verdict. There is no doubt that his sense of injury misled him in forming his opinion of the Judges, as they were universally esteemed for their impartiality. However, the idea of a prosecution was wisely abandoned.

At the request of Synod, Dr. McCulloch prepared a Memorial addressed to Sir James Kempt, setting forth the exertions made by Scottish christians to provide religious ordinances for the early settlers of the Province; the efforts of the Pres-

byterian Church of Nova Scotia to provide a native ministry for an increasing population which the Church of their fathers could not adequately supply, with a statement of the difficulties which Dissenters had to encounter. The attention of His Excellency was then called to the Royal Bounty Fund, which was designed, not for the benefit of any party, but of the Colonies, the petition humbly praying, that he would bring the necessities of Presbyterians and others to His Majesty's attention, with view to their participation in the said fund. This was regarded as a bold step, but it was felt that granted, or refused, the issue would be favorable to the position and claims of non-Episcopalians. The petition failed, as far as a share in the Bounty was concerned.

A passing remark may be made in this place regarding what is today a favorite cry with some, that Presbyterians are endeavouring to control the higher education of the Province, while in fact they have been contending for equal rights to all denominations. In this very Memorial, so far from the selfishness with which they have been charged, they have sought for "others" all that they asked for themselves. Other bodies have stood aloof from the struggle, but have been willing to share the benefits without acknowledgment of their indebtedness to the men by whom the battle was fought. So it has ever been in this world's history. The secret of the present outcry is found in the success of Dalhousie College, resuscitated mainly through the unsectarian spirit of Presbyterians consenting to yield their denominational affinities to the general good, and by the munificent endowments of Presbyterian friends, and in the well grounded fear that in the course of a few years it will acquire such a position as will render it the University, not of Nova Scotia, but of the Maritime Provinces.

CHAPTER XI.

Philosophical Lectures—Brandy Election.

At this time the Trustees had no money at their disposal except the casual contributions of a few congregations, and the gifts of friends of education, and ladies' Societies. All that the Principal could with confidence call his own was the produce of a few acres wrought by his sons, and the ill paid board of a few young men. All beyond this depended on the whim of the Council. It might be a year of comfort, or as a ministerial brother expressed it, "a great starve." He writes of this, "How I am to get on there is no seeing, and it is not easy believing. But this world takes so many turns that the prostrate today may find tomorrow that he has not been forsaken. To keep myself up I have tried many trades, and must try another. As a more immediate mode of existence, I am projecting a course of popular lectures in chemistry. At my time of life such an arduous undertaking is not comfortable, but necessity knows no law. If I had the apparatus, and a good chemical chest I think I could do something for myself, and have the apparatus to the good."

The projecting of such a course after a quarter of a century's absence from the centre of learning was an undertaking, and entailed an amount of toil which formed a drag upon a constitution never robust, and often caused much anxiety. The lectures were delivered in the large west room of the Academy, and were well attended. From his success in reviving the studies of his youth, and carrying out his purpose, so much to his own, and the public satisfaction, with the limited means at his disposal, he was encouraged to repeat the effort at a future day, when with more experience, and better apparatus he could do greater justice to his subject and himself. Underlying the wish to provide for his family was a desire, that when the Trustees were harassed by opposition, and embarrassed by want of means to pay their Professor, the work of the Institution might not be interrupted.

These were the first lectures of the kind delivered in the

Province, and this opening he ever regarded as providential, both as regards private interests, and the progress of scientific education. About this time, he wrote: "I hope the apparatus will come out. I am likely to need it. Like the bears in winter I am living on my own fat, and that, you know, is not very abundant. But really when it does come, I will be perplexed and puzzled. At my time of life it is not pleasant to be playing the mountebank. I can look middling sapient, and that is an important point. My principal encouragement is a certain versatility of mind which can turn to anything. As to actual knowledge, that may be scarce enough, but a course of popular lectures does not require profundity. About a fortnight ago as I was in the Academy with my coat off, roasting over the fire about some of my chemical preparations, without the least notice, the Bishop, and four of his clergy arrived. He saluted me with the cordiality of an old friend, remarking that I did not look so well as when he last saw me, and invited me to take a voyage with him around the coast in a Government vessel. I replied that if he would stay and take care of the Academy, I would sail around the coast and do his duty." Subsequently Sir Peregrine Maitland, our Governor, visited Pictou, and within an hour, called at the Institution. He inspected the Museum, apparatus, and other matters, expressing his satisfaction, and stating that he had no idea of such a thing in the Province as the Museum."

In the month of February, 1830, Dr. McCulloch left for Halifax to deliver a course of "Philosophical Lectures." The following is his own account of what he calls his "Quixotic expedition:"

"After much foreboding, conjecture, and hesitation, I arrived at the conclusion that necessity has no law, and that nothing else would relieve me from incumbrances, and enable me to carry on. I saw that to Halifax I must go, and to Halifax I went. It was not so bad as going to be hanged, but I found it by no means comfortable. I was going to the very focus of power, and enmity, and my unsubdued spirit felt that I was going because I could not stay at home. In Halifax there, had never been any public exhibitions but of players and showmen and I really felt as if I belonged to the vagabond race. A bear

and a few dancing dogs would have been suitable companions to the mood in which I entered into our gay and dissipated metropolis. To mend the matter, when my apparatus on two carriages was moving along the street, some wag gave notice to our Collector of Customs, who is one of our enemies in the Council, that a great cargo of smuggled tea had just come into town, and instantly I had a Custom-house officer at my heels. But learning that the packages were mine, instead of thinking of inspection, he returned to his master, who by the jokes of his acquaintances about catching me for a smuggler, was sufficiently mortified.

"Before my arrival curiosity had been excited by an expectation held out in some of our papers that I might lecture in town in the course of the winter. Some wished information, and others amusement, and not a few were curious to see and hear a man whom our Bishop and his friends had labored to put down. Others again determined to attend me in the hope of obtaining the means of running down both the Academy and myself. With all this I had laid my account, and before leaving home I resolved that if success was attainable, it should not be impeded by want of either labor, or sacrifice of interest. The magistrates placed the County Court House and jury rooms at my disposal for containing my apparatus, and also lecturing if I pleased. But for the latter purpose I found it necessary to hire a much larger hall in the same building.

"At the solicitation of Councillors, the Admiral, Commissary-General, and other grandees who dine after six, I lectured three days a week at three o'clock. On the alternate days I lectured to another class at eight in the evening. In the compass of twenty one lectures I managed to squeeze together a mass of the finest experiments in philosophy, and left my audience as eager as at the commencement of the course. I had with me my two sons, Michael and David, who could operate as well as myself. We had those attending us who had studied at Oxford, London, and Edinburgh, and they all agreed that they had never seen experiments more dexterously performed. In the evenings we were crowded to excess, and were obliged to refuse admittance. At the same time it was generally understood that eagerness for money had not kept pace with my wish to gratify friends, and such a kindly feeling pervaded both my classes that my lectures were supposed to have done more good to the Academy than anything which had previously happened. They brought me into contact with numbers in the higher circles to whom I had been sadly misrepresented, and who did not find me that arrogant

and violent man that they had heard me reported to be..... I must therefore tell you that without being puffed up in Halifax I was thankful to get away from it, and now, after paying a few pressing encumbrances, I am again facing Presbyterian hardship.

"I however received one proof of friendly feeling which I must not omit. One gentleman high in rank told me that though not rich, he could afford me twenty-five pounds a year till the Academy question should be settled, and he pressed me to receive it. I assured him that my trip to town, by relieving me from immediate embarrassment, made me as rich as Croesus, and I begged leave, with grateful acknowledgements, to decline his offer. He is one of the Bishop's flock, and in an official situation, and I pledged myself never to mention his name. This, therefore, is *inter nos*..... If you had seen me leading into her dining room the daughter of the heir apparent you would have laughed as I did, and as she did, when I told her that I was as awkward among the ladies as she would be among my apparatus. I am now in Pictou, and grappling with difficulty. *Sic transit gloria.*"

By the kindness of the Governors of Dalhousie College Dr. McCulloch had, during this visit, the use of some rooms in that Institution. In this connection it would be ungracious to omit the name of Mrs. Errol Boyd, wife of the person in charge of, and dwelling in the building. All that lay in her power she did to aid in his success, and he, and his family with him, have ever cherished for her a feeling of affectionate gratitude.

During this stay in Halifax he formed an acquaintance with Colonel and Lady Fox, to whose interest in his work much of his success was owing. He found in the Colonel a highly congenial mind, especially on scientific subjects, and received much kindness at their hands, which was continued long after their return to Britain. The attendance of Lady Fox upon the lectures led others, for fashion's sake, to patronize the course. Novelty, also, may have had its effect upon public appreciation, but a glance at the lectures shows that a desire to instruct and beget a taste for scientific study took precedence of a desire to amuse, and they illustrate one of his sayings to his students, "Whatever you undertake, throw into it all the ability you possess." Though jestingly, he styled himself a "showman,"

he left behind something better than the memory of a pleasure enjoyed.

Encouraged by his experience on this occasion, he undertook in 1832 to revisit the city as a lecturer, putting forth all his powers to improve upon the work of his former visit; but when he reached the capital there was no tea-smuggling story to calm the waters; there was no King's daughter to set the fashion; and the triumph of the Assembly—which had come to pass in the meantime—had left upon the Council and its party feelings of bitterness that made them unprepared to welcome him as formerly. Leading citizens who had attended the first course kept studiously aloof. Their absence was partially compensated for by a larger attendance of the middle class, so called, on whom such teaching leaves generally more enduring impressions than on mere pleasure seekers, and whose cultivation does much for social welfare. Of this visit Dr. McCulloch wrote: "My lectures in Halifax did almost nothing for me. The tories of whom Halifax is full, made a dead set against me, so that with the friends of the Bishop, the friends of the Council, and the friends of the disappointed electioneering candidates, I was left in the lurch. But I managed to have a very respectable class. I obliged friends, and would have made a little, but the expense was very great." From classes in attendance at the lectures he received gifts of a gold watch, and gold snuff box, each accompanied by an address.

These lectures, enlarged and improved as opportunity and time permitted, were repeated in Charlottetown, Miramichi, and St. John, N. B. To the latter place he went overland, returning in a schooner owned by Captain Grey of Old Barns. After leaving St. John the vessel put into Quaco, and lay there until it was thought safe to sail; but after a short time the wind hauled to the westward and blew a gale, accompanied by thick snow. Deeming it utterly useless to attempt to seek a harbour, Captain Grey, having the rising tide with him, determined to run before the wind, being thoroughly familiar with the Bay. This he did, passing up the Bay without seeing land till within a few miles of his own house.

The lectures drew attention to the state of education, by

showing that what a small Institution such as the Academy could provide might be secured by similar institutions elsewhere. They awakened a taste for higher subjects of thought and study which is producing its results today. Had the Academy been left to do its work quietly, I am not sure that its direct and indirect influence combined would have operated as extensively on general education as did those lectures.

James McCulloch, who accompanied his father on his trip to Miramichi, writes as follows from Chatham:

"Sept. 9th 1834. We have commenced operations, and have got tolerably well over the class, or rather course. On the first of Sept. father gave his introductory lecture, and the room, which is in Mr. Peabody's large store, was crammed almost to suffocation. Of course they are exceedingly liberal here when there is nothing to pay, and the audience was large. At the conclusion there was clapping of hands, and stamping of feet, which I could easily perceive father did not relish very well. We have, I suppose, about a hundred and thirty or thereabouts, some at ten shillings, others, viz. ladies and youth, at five, but what it will eventually turn out we cannot yet say as the persons who sold tickets have not yet given in an account. This was father's price, but many thought it entirely too low, and so thought I, but probably one would not have had nearly such a respectable class, for although all the nobs subscribed, yet two-thirds appear to belong to the middle orders of society. Father has determined upon lecturing at Newcastle, and Mrs. Henderson has kindly invited him to make her house his home. Should Gilmour and Rankine patronize the thing we will get on very well.....Every fellow thinks himself so wise he has no need to be taught. They look on us as strolling play-actors, and many think our experiments were sleight of hand. The other night when we were trying the experiment of the Madgeburgh bells one man whispered to another, "Look at them soldering it with grease." When we return I will be able to read you a small book of anecdotes on this head."

In the year 1830 in the revenue bills passed by the Assembly there was a clause rectifying an error, regarded by many as a mere oversight or mistake, by which a duty smaller than that contemplated by the House had been levied on brandy. To the alteration the Council refused assent. After a conference of the two houses another bill was sent to the Council, with the same result. The House was then pro-

rogued, leaving the country without the usual revenue bills, and on the death of George IV it was dissolved. This action of the Council is said to have cost the country \$100,000. During the election the country was in a state of the wildest excitement.

Of the scenes in Pictou, which then formed part of the County of Halifax, it may not be out of place to give a few notes. On the morning of the election, the Court House being found entirely too small, the Sheriff adjourned to the outside of the building on which hustings were erected, with a narrow gangway of planks leading to the front of the hustings, through which the voters were driven, pounded, or squeezed, at the risk of suffocation. On the platform beside the Sheriff stood two reverend gentlemen, each wearing a highland bonnet and carrying a stick. The writer was standing at a window just above them. Suddenly a commotion arose caused by the arrival of a large body of liberals from New Glasgow. While these were pressing forward to the polling entrance, and driving their opponents aside, and taking possession, the gentlemen above mentioned sprang from the hustings and one of them, waving his stick, cried, "Do as you see me do." In a moment twenty men lay on the ground. Of course the Academy became marked for destruction; threats of burning were freely uttered, leading to a watch being set, consisting of the late J. D. B. Fraser, Esq., and a few others, with the writer. While watching, a man was seen to approach stealthily a supposed unguarded part of the building. After a struggle he was seized, and quieted by the sight of an old empty pistol. Mr. John A. Barry, one of the Tory candidates, at the head of his party, approached the Liberal quarters, and a contest seemed imminent. At this point Dr. McCulloch went to Mr. Barry, urging him to lead his people away. Said Mr. Barry, "If you will go with me I will try." This he agreed to do, and walked beside him till immediate danger was past. Once and again during this extraordinary march the cry was heard, "Kill the old Anti-burgher." Maddened by liquor which stood in casks at the tents, bodies of voters encountered opponents at the east end of the Academy, and in the melee a highlander struck and

killed a harmless man named Irvine, a blockmaker. When tried he was acquitted, though my brother was within six feet of the man, and saw the blow given. A packed jury of the man's friends set him free, but God's hand found him out. At the close of the poll, which in those days lasted in Pictou for a week, the Liberal victory was secure. Elections then were not simultaneous, and some of the candidates, certain of failure, left for other parts of the province.

It may be said here that Dr. McCulloch did not vote, and rightly or wrongly, this was his course through life. Of the scenes of those weeks in Pictou and throughout the country, from Margaret's Bay to Antigonish County no pen could give an adequate idea. It so happened that there was present in Pictou a gentleman from Edinburgh, who on his return home gave an account to Dr. Paxton, his minister, of what he saw. Of this the Dr. wrote: "Your last election must have been a strange scene. A member of my congregation happened to be in Pictou at the time and his description filled me with wonder and disgust. Better no election than at such an expense of morality, decency and religion. My informant, Mr. Robertson, is full of the riots in Pictou; though himself a highlander, he fell in with one of the clergy at the head of his clan, and gave him a severe lecture about the way they were conducting themselves." Such is the testimony of an entire stranger to both parties.

As the mouthpiece of the Young or Tory party Mr. Joseph Howe had used his influence against the Liberal party of which Pictou was regarded as the centre. At the election of 1830 he was present in Pictou and probably in Truro also. The scenes of the election week had, as he jestingly remarked, given a new turn to his views. It would perhaps have been more correct to say that his views had undergone a radical change. At one time he had termed the struggle in behalf of civil and religious rights, "the paltry politics of Pictou," but in his first editorial in the "Nova Scotian" after the election he began thus: "The contest has closed, and has ended gloriously." After referring to the scenes already mentioned the article continues; "We have no wish unnecessarily to allude to those who made themselves conspicuous in those disturbances, but this we may say as far as our observation went, order and good feeling

characterized the conduct of those who are accused by some of wishing to create anarchy and confusion." I may add, as one who was on the ground frequently, that in no case did the Liberals intrude upon the part of the town held by the Tories.

The effect of this contest upon Mr. Howe was very decided. He saw in the Liberal success the evidence of the rising tide of popular power, and while giving him all due credit for his new patriotism, he was sufficiently astute to see that in existing conditions he was on the losing side; he could not endure the idea of such a position nor yet of being second in a revolution which evidently approached. Throwing the full weight of his character into the struggle, he so concentrated the scattered forces of public indignation as to sweep away not only the old Council with its tyrannical government, but to place himself at the head of the movement for Responsible Government. He seized and guided an existing movement which through his efforts culminated in the present state of affairs. Though he failed to give honor to others for service to their country, he was known to say that personally he owed to the Anti-burghers all that he was. He is gone! All honor to his name, and memory. He did a great work for his country. What he did will not be forgotten even amid the failures of his declining years.

In the results of the election lay the consequences of the contest which the Council had provoked, and the reality of those changes in social sentiment of which they had been warned but did not believe. When the House met, a bill containing the rejected clause passed by a vote of 29 to 9 and was sent to the Council. Either alarmed at the state of the public mind as indicated by the elections, or as was generally believed, by a smart snubbing from the Imperial authorities, the Council succumbed, and thus gained a short respite. But they had gone too far to expect toleration to act as in the past. The constituencies knew their rights and felt their powers, and with one exception all the popular leaders had been returned. Of the results it is not my purpose to write, but it is questionable if anything was of more importance to the people's rights excepting the action of the Trustees in carrying their grievances directly to the foot of the Throne.

CHAPTER XII.

Death of Dr. McGregor—Appeal to Britain.

While Dr. McCulloch was in Halifax in March 1830 Dr. James McGregor, his "old father," as he used to style him, passed away. Though not unexpected, his death affected him most painfully. For more than a quarter of a century they had shared the toils and privations of a life known only to the ministry of today as a sort of myth; they had walked together in mutual respect and affection, and in deep sympathy with each other's sorrows and joys. After the first shock of an abrupt announcement he said, "Nova Scotia has lost her best man," perhaps the highest eulogium that affection could utter, and richly merited. The remains of Dr. McGregor lie in the old graveyard above New Glasgow, under a costly tombstone with an inscription written by Dr. McCulloch.

The time at last came for the Trustees to carry out their resolution of appeal to the Imperial government, but had they been fully aware of the adverse influences, secret and open, Colonial and Imperial, it is a question if they would not have abandoned their effort. They had against them the well known hostility of the Governor, the open opposition of a majority of the Council,—the approbation of the Assembly counting as nothing in behalf of the Academy in days when the Council sat with closed doors, and claimed the right to control the revenues of the Province,—the secret influence of the Bishop, and the prestige of the Establishment co-operating with the clergy of the Kirk, and last of all the damning fact that the complainants were Liberals.

Most of the Trustees were men of firmness and decision, men who felt that the crisis had come, that it was theirs to go forward and leave results with God. Even if unsuccessful as regarded the Academy, they knew that the disclosures they were prepared to make would shake the confidence of Imperial authorities to such an extent in both the action of the Bishop and the wisdom of the Council as would prepare the way for a more equitable administration of the affairs of

the Province. They had been fairly aroused to struggle for their rights, and they hoped much from a fact apparently unnoticed by the opposing party that a reaction had set in demanding the restoration of popular freedom, whose ultimate influence would extend to the remotest province of the Empire. In the face of the timid and time-serving calling themselves friends, and influences that might well have led thoughtful men to pause, they determined to stand by their resolution, and directed Dr. McCulloch to prepare the necessary documents, and in their name to make provision for the necessary expenses. Jotham Blanchard Esq., a leading barrister in Pictou, was selected as agent, and though fully aware of the injury to his business by prolonged absence, so interested was he in the success of the Academy that he at once accepted the mission. The money for the immediate use of that mission was raised on Dr. McCulloch's personal security.

Mr. Blanchard's own words, in a private letter, bear testimony to his disinterested spirit,

"You deprecate war, but there can arise no evil from it beyond what we will otherwise have to endure. The quiet, denominations, viz: the Methodists and Baptists, are just as much hated as we are, and the more tameness which is shown under political oppression, the more will be the oppression. The Italian adage is always verified in politics; "make a sheep of yourself and the wolves will eat you." But there is now no use even to consider whether war or peace is best, for the rubicon is past. There is a systematic arrangement on the government side to depress their opposers, both publicly, and privately. I have before now spent many an hour in meditating upon the propriety in reference to duty of rendering myself obnoxious to the Provincial powers by the public discussion of their doings. I have no private object to gain by so doing, but the reverse, and therefore my interest dragged the other way, and yet I am satisfied that I ought not to remain quiet, and having resolved upon this, take no precaution to conceal my sentiments, or actions.....So that for me there is only one way—namely, to fight my progress through life. You will think this conduct equally injurious to temporal and spiritual interests, but to the latter it is not. I am not fighting for personal advantage, nor for worldly power to a party, but solely for that which is good to the people whether in reference to

time or eternity, namely, education, and a sound religion. Whether I shall be able to accomplish anything or not is not for me to ponder much upon. It must be for me to strive, and leave the event to Providence."

Provided with a petition to His Majesty the King, and other necessary documents, Mr. Blanchard sailed from Halifax on March 3rd, 1831, in the Government packet, and after a very stormy passage of twenty-three days, reached Falmouth. At the beginning of his work he was met by the results of a mistake on the part of friends at home which occasioned much anxiety and delay. As a general rule, documents addressed to Imperial authorities, by parties unconnected with the Provincial Government, especially if affecting public questions, required to pass through the hands of the Governor and Council. By the advice of Messrs Fairbanks, Lawson, and Foreman, this rule had in this case not been observed, and Mr. Blanchard had reluctantly left without the authorization. The delay caused by the return of the petition to the Governor by the Imperial authorities was most annoying, but this point was gained, that its suppression was rendered impossible, Mr. Blanchard being duly notified of its return, and requested to await the Governor's reply.

During the time of waiting Mr. Blanchard visited Scotland and addressed the Secession Synod, which forwarded a strong Memorial to Government on behalf of his mission. He was indefatigable in seeking influential backing. On his arrival in London he had received from ministers of the Secession letters of introduction to Lords Jeffrey and Brougham, Sir James Graham and other prominent parties. Colonel Fox also gave him the benefit of his counsel and influence, and Joseph Hume, M. P., who took a deep interest in his cause, owing to his intimate acquaintance with the extent of Colonial misgovernment, went with him to Lords Goderich and Howick. But imagine his surprise when in the midst of his difficulties he met if not the opposition, yet the "cold shoulder" of one who in Nova Scotia had been avowedly a warm friend. This party was at the time dancing attendance upon the Colonial Office, as an applicant for a position then vacant in the Colony. On reading the Trustees' petition he became alarmed,

and while affirming the correctness of its statements, pronounced it entirely too strong, and asked him either to postpone its presentation until after his application was decided, or to settle the matter by some compromise. Finally, at his suggestion Mr. Blanchard drew up a statement of his own, giving a full history of the case, assuring him that if this were not accepted the original Memorial would be presented.

Shortly afterward Lord Goderich named a day to meet Mr. Blanchard. At that interview he presented the document prepared, and entered into a full statement of the case, when His Lordship promised to give the papers an attentive perusal. He spoke for a quarter of an hour and asked many questions, showing plainly that from some quarter he had been well posted in the objections to the Academy. He accused the Trustees with making the Academy the ground of charges against the Provincial Government, and of conducting the opposition with great violence. Mr. Blanchard vindicated the Trustees, proving the violence to be all on the other side. Lord Goderich terminated the interview with a promise of an answer as soon as possible. It transpired afterward, through Mr. Bailey, the Deputy-Secretary, that the "as soon as possible" of Lord Goderich meant a delay of at least three months, as a copy of Mr. Blanchard's statement was preparing for the consideration of Sir Peregrine Maitland, Governor of Nova Scotia. Mr. Hay, the Under Secretary informed Mr. Blanchard that he had read the case with great interest, and that he never saw a stronger one come to the Office. The history of the Council's dislike to Mr. Blanchard was given to Lord Goderich by a friend of Dr. McCulloch, and he was told that he could not be put down, as the Province was with him.

At a loss what course to take Mr. Blanchard sought advice from friends, but they were either unable to advise, or unwilling to commit themselves. On consulting Joseph Hume he offered to go with him to Lord Goderich, provided he would come boldly out with a statement of grievances as these affected the peace of the Colonies, throwing upon the Imperial Government the responsibility for consequences if his Memorial should be rejected and trouble arise. But while feeling

that the advice was good, as acting for others in the then agitated state of the country he could not see his way to such a step. It transpired that his Memorial had been delayed in order that it might be submitted to the inspection of Judge Haliburton then in London, and already in communication with Lord Goderich on the question at issue.

At the time when the question of Responsible Government was agitating the Province, and originated the MacKenzie riots, the writer, being in London, had an interview with Mr. Hume, who strongly urged resistance to the family compact, and the officials of the other Provinces, confident that to combined action the Imperial Government would rather yield than incur the loss and disgrace of a second American Revolution, and their subsequent procedure, when it was wrung from them, showed the correctness of his views and soundness of his advice.

As a last resort Mr. Blanchard resolved to call at the Colonial Office, and in a letter to Dr. McCulloch he gives the following account of his experience.

"I called at the Colonial Office in the hope of seeing Lord Goderich. His private Secretary told me that he could not be seen, as he was going to a meeting of the Cabinet. He expressed his regret at the delay that had taken place, in referring to Sir Peregrine Maitland, and explained that it arose not from any neglect in the office, but that Lord Goderich had sent the Memorial to Judge Haliburton, and was waiting his remarks, and further that he would go and see Mr. Hay at once. He returned and said that Mr. Hay could say nothing more than he had told me formerly.

"Anxious to get from Mr. Hay a positive promise of an answer to the Memorial on the return of the packet, especially as Mr. Hay had forfeited his word to send the Memorial by the packet that had sailed after Lord Goderich had sent me word that the reference to the Governor had been made, I called at the office and sent in a note, asking if he, Mr. Hay, could give me any answer on the return of the mail so as to prevent any shuffling by the Governor and Council in Nova Scotia. He sent for me, and with great stateliness asked me what I wanted. I replied that as a month's additional delay had occurred, I was extremely desirous, before writing the Trustees, to know if after the return of the mail from America I could get an answer. With all the incivility he could put on he said I

was "most unreasonable to ask such a thing; how could he control the winds and waves, etc." I said the winds and waves had nothing to do with it, that the Governor of Nova Scotia would by the mail arrangements have three weeks to answer, and that all I wished to know was if he would request the Governor to answer by that packet. He resumed in the same haughty tone, saying that I asked too many questions, and ought to be very thankful that he had agreed to give me any answer at all, instead of sending me back to the Colony for it; that when the Governor replied Lord Goderich would tell me all that was necessary for me to know on the subject, and if I wanted his final answer I must wait for it. This is a sample of Colonial mismanagement. The Trustees petition delayed a whole month to accommodate Judge Haliburton, and their agent all but kicked out of the office for asking a question. A million and a quarter of rational beings under a Mr. Hay! Not even a Lord to reign!! If the Governor's reply is unfavorable I shall then present the Trustees, Memorial. It is quite evident that the Colonies are yet to groan under all kinds of misrule.' "

Pending the receipt of the Governor's reply, Colonel Fox wrote to Mr. Blanchard that he had seen Lord Goderich, who said that he was "decidedly of opinion that the grant should be given to the Academy, and made permanent." This was regarded as an intimation of the reply of the Colonial Office to the Trustees after a full consideration of their statement and Judge Haliburton's remarks thereon. After waiting patiently for the Governor's reply, and the action of the Colonial office, the substance of the despatch to the Governor of Nova Scotia was communicated to Mr. Blanchard. On its receipt he at once sailed for home, and reached Halifax in time to take his seat in the Assembly of 1832.

The following is quoted from Lord Goderich's despatch to the Governor.

"His Majesty's Government feel most anxious that this cause of internal dissension be removed, and that a Bill might be passed which might give to the Pictou Academy that permanent pecuniary assistance from the public revenue to the grant of which the Assembly attaches so much importance, and I have no hesitation in submitting to you my opinion that it would be most unfortunate if the passing of such a Bill should be frustrated by attempting to annex to it conditions as to the constitution of the Body of Trustees to which there is little

reason to expect that the Assembly would be prepared to agree."

"Whilst therefore I cannot say that I see any reason to participate in the grounds on which the Council have rejected a Bill for a permanent endowment, I should of course deem it more satisfactory if the measure were adopted in such a manner as to meet and conciliate the feelings and wishes of both parties. Your object therefore will be to endeavor to bring about by the exercise of all proper means of persuasion on your part such a state of feeling as may lead to that result."

The equality of right of two parties in the Academy could never have been gathered from Mr. Blanchard's Memorial or his statement. The Kirk claimed a right in the Institution to which they had never contributed a penny, while the Episcopalians aimed at the destruction of the whole fabric. The whole tenor of the despatch shows that it did not reflect the opinion of Lord Goderich. So strong was he on the question that in a letter to Colonel Fox which was read to Mr. Blanchard he thus expressed himself; "I assure you that I am very anxious that the Pictou Academy question should be settled, and I have said to the Governor that it must be done, and that without any restriction on the Trustees. No one can more regret than myself that the Bishop should interfere in civil affairs." The despatch eliminated the authoritative note; had this note been even slightly more emphatic the Council would have been obliged to yield. The moment was favorable to the Academy, and had the spirit that dictated the Trustees' delegation influenced the Board, the result, humanly speaking, would have been different. But there was weakness at the Board. Through one man elements were at work that rendered the despatch a practical mockery, and it may be truly said that from its feebleness of utterance it sealed the fate of the Institution. Lord Holland had proposed to Lord Goderich that the Academy should be endowed out of the casual revenue till the Council should give in. Where and how these decided views were exchanged for the feebleness of the despatch was generally understood, and subsequent events placed them beyond a doubt.

On the receipt by the Trustees of a copy of Lord Goderich's despatch, the Principal was directed to prepare an acknowledge-

ment to be forwarded to His Lordship through his Excellency the Governor. In it he briefly recapitulates the nature and history of the opposition to the Academy, expresses the gratitude of the Trustees for his interest in the matter, and hopes that through His Lordship's influence all difficulties may be amicably settled. This was accompanied by a Memorial to His Excellency in which the Trustees say,

"That they have ever shown a wish to comply with the requirements and secure the cooperation of the Reverend gentlemen, the Kirk clergy; that when an interview between them and the Trustees failed of its object, the Trustees engaged the Rev. Mr. Trotter to correspond with them for the purpose of conciliation; that a copy of the correspondence is herewith enclosed for His Excellency's perusal, and that from its tenor, and recent manifestation of the same spirit, the Trustees are satisfied that the Legislature alone can terminate an opposition which has been protracted by those Reverend gentlemen with the hope of reducing the Academy to a grade to which the Trustees, consistently with the design of their incorporation, cannot consent."

CHAPTER XIII.

Lower Branches Bill—Proposals to Join Church of England.

In the year 1831 the odds were decidedly against the Academy; when the Assembly met it was evident that the temper of the House had changed. This was seen in the earnestly expressed desire of the majority to bring Academy matters to a close. Not a few saw only the contentings of parties in Pictou, and felt the annual worry. They either did not, or would not, see the principles involved in the struggle, or saw no prospect of curtailing the action of the Council. To carry out their object a Committee of ten was appointed to draft a bill, which being sent to the Council was promptly rejected, as was a vote of £400 to meet annual expenses.

In the face of the despatch, with all its weakness, the Council did not dare to refuse concurrence in the Assembly's action toward a settlement of the question, but by a series of conferences it was agreed to pursue a course which while appearing to meet the wishes of Lord Goderich, entirely nullified his object. The Kirk clergy were advised to petition against the Academy. In doing so they asserted that the Trustees had violated their Charter by refusing to introduce the primary branches; that the intention of the Assembly was that these branches should be taught; that contrary to the Charter, the Trust was, with few exceptions, in the hands of Seceders, and that the system of education had been accommodated to sectarian purposes. Ignoring its character, a large and influential body welcomed it as *prima facie* evidence that the petitioners were in the right. Many names were signed with an X, among them that of an old Dutchman, a poor Pictou loafer. The idea was current that the Kirk was in danger, and that the Government was being called upon to save it by putting down the Anti-burghers. A Bill was quickly introduced by the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald, in which he eulogized Dr. McCulloch while engaged in destroying the goodly fabric which he had raised, as it were, with his life's blood, and of which Mr. Archibald was a sworn Trustee. At the same time, with

all his power of sarcasm he held the petition up to ridicule, especially immortalizing the Dutchman, until the party winced under his scathing language.

Dr. McCulloch failed not at the Board and in public to express his own views, as well as to foretell the result of the steps to which Mr. Archibald had led the Trustees, but he felt that times had changed, and that his influence was not worth as much as in by gone days. In fact he felt overridden, and compelled with deep reluctance to submit to an act almost suicidal in giving consent to the terms of the Bill. Undismayed by his foes while friends stood by him, the moment reaction set in his mind retired within itself, and it was only by his haggard appearance in the morning that his family could judge of the character of his struggles and of how he spent the night. Opponents had caused a statement to be published in one of the Halifax papers that the Trustees were opposed to the teaching of the lower branches as calculated to interfere with the popularity, if not the existence, of the Academy. To this, under the direction of the Board, Dr. McCulloch further replied, "If means for the endowment of a respectable Seminary to give instruction in writing, arithmetic, English grammar, the first principles of the languages, and other branches which you enumerate, can be provided, we will gladly take it under our direction, and to the best of our ability promote its interests." This reply was made personally at a Conference which the Board held with their opponents, yet the charge was repeated while the offer was suppressed.

The new Bill embodied the following provisions. It repealed all tests, constituted a new Board of Trustees consisting of seven of the existing Board chosen by themselves, the Roman Catholic Bishop (Fraser) and five to be appointed by the Governor. Of the seven, Dr. McCulloch was to be one. It divided the Institution into upper and lower departments, the latter to teach elementary branches. Four hundred pounds were voted as salaries. Of that sum two hundred and fifty were set apart for Dr. McCulloch as long as in office. Several changes were made in the Bill to meet the views of opponents, but as far as the original object of the Academy was

concerned each change was for the worse. In trying to render inoperative Lord Goderich's despatch, Rev. Mr. McKenzie addressed a lengthy Memorial to the Council full of reckless assertions under the guise of interest in education. But his real objection appears at the close of his Memorial, viz. "that the Principal's salary was placed beyond the control of the Board of Trustees under the new arrangement."

This Memorial was promptly and fully met by the Trustees, reply presented to the Council. It was then the custom to publish such documents in the Royal Gazette, by which they came under the purview of the Colonial office. Thinking that they had found in Mr. MacKenzie's paper a justification of their conduct that would satisfy Lord Goderich, it was published in the "Gazette" and forwarded to him, while the damaging reply was left to its fate. Friends at once printed the petition in the "Patriot," and side by side with it the reply, and forwarded copies to Lord Goderich and other officials. The subjoined is an outline of the Trustees reply to both the petition and Mr. MacKenzie's paper.

They submitted a copy of the original subscription for the erection of the Academy, to show that the petitioners had not contributed a farthing to the amount, also the petition for a Charter, specifying their intention to teach just the branches then taught in the Institution,—stating that the intentions of the Assembly in granting the Charter are better understood by the terms of the Act than by the assertions of petitioners, who were not in the country at the time of the Incorporation, and who have no means of ascertaining what the Legislature intended to do than by what they have done; that the restriction of the Act is the work of the Council, and contrary to the desire of the friends of the Academy, that the Trust contains members of the Kirk of Scotland and Episcopalians; that the Rev. D. A. Fraser, one of the movers of the petition, was elected a Trustee and at a public examination expressed his high approval of the system of education, and yet a few months later became its avowed enemy, that the only ground of the charge of sectarianism is that for the convenience of the Divinity Professor the Trustees allowed the occasional use of a room in the building; that the Divinity Class has no connection with the Institution, that it is not paid by nor under the control of the Trustees, that the Hall belongs to the Synod, and that they,

CORRECTION.

Following "broke down."

These are painful details, but necessary to explain much in Dr. McCulloch's life that might seem of doubtful propriety. Those of whom these facts are recorded have gone to their account, and this consideration might seem an adequate reason for suppression, but having, by their conduct, deliberately formed part of the early history of the Church, and so connected themselves with the life and public character of Dr. McCulloch, duty to his memory demands publicity, while charity withholds much.

Writing of the late action of opponents Dr. McCulloch says,

"I rejected every compromise that would sacrifice the,"
etc.

the Synod, are quite willing to remove it elsewhere, that the report of the Government Commission appointed to examine into the state of the Academy fully corroborates these statements; that when the said Commission was appointed some of the opponents of the Academy were of the number, so as to afford the opportunity of thorough enquiry, but not only did they decline to act, but absented themselves upon the flimsiest excuses and after thorough and favorable enquiry continued the old complaints against the Trustees.

"That your Memorialists hope that your petitioners in representing the members of the Council as encouraging them have taken unwarranted liberties; that your petitioners have made assertions with perfect knowledge of their inaccuracy; they assert the want in Pictou of an elementary school, to prepare men for the Academy, and yet inform your Excellency that one of the Professors conducts such a school under Your Excellency's license; that of this both in writing and at their interview with the Trustees due notice was given them: that persons signing their names with an X to the petition are among the objectors to the reading of Tacitus and Juvenal, and to the study of the higher mathematics in the Institution!"

When the Bill was before the Legislature a paid agent of Mr. MacKenzie was heard at the bar of the House, and his statements partook of the same reckless assertion, and disregard of facts characteristic of his party. He was met by Dr. McCulloch with the reply given to Mr. MacKenzie's petition before the Council. The Rev. D. A. Fraser appeared as the advocate of the petitioners, and after being heard in the same strain, was confronted by A. P. Ross Esq., of Pictou, by whom he was subjected to such a thorough cross examination that he utterly broke down.

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"I rejected every compromise that would sacrifice the

interests of dissenters, and declared that though I cared nothing for the office of Trustee, no man without just cause should exclude me from the Trust, that I would never place myself under the control of either Governor or Bishop, and as to teaching Divinity that must be left to myself. For the sake of Lord Dalhousie's College the Governor is not our friend. My situation at present is not desirable. The grand subject of vituperation is that we educate ministers. The reproach serves the purpose of the Bishop and Kirk Clergy. I feel a great deal of misery both from the present and with respect to the future. There is no door through which evangelical doctrine can enter but the Academy, and I trust that the blame of shutting its doors will never be mine."

As soon as the Bill went into operation the east class room of the Academy was appropriated to the lower branches, and advertisements for a teacher were issued. There were two applicants for the situation; one of those gentlemen, a protege of Mr. McKenzie, becoming alarmed at the ordeal through which he would have to pass, withdrew his application. During the examination of the other candidate, Mr. George—afterward Judge—Blanchard, an alumnus of the Academy, at which the writer was present, Mr. McKenzie took the lead, ignoring the other Trustees, and trying to pluck the candidate by putting irrelevant questions. From the passage of the new Bill by which Revds. Messrs McKenzie and Macrae and Mr. David Creighton were appointed Trustees, every meeting of the Board, became a scene of wrangling and dispute, so much so that Dr. McCulloch ceased to attend except when his presence as Principal was a necessity, and then waited only long enough to answer any questions put to him.

Every demand of the opposition had been granted, except the control of the salary of the Principal, and in this lay the germ of future possible usefulness of the Institution, had the Church raised the small sum of one hundred and fifty pounds. This would have enabled the Trustees to carry on the higher education during the ten years of the continuance of the Bill and by that time, with an enlarged ministry, and an extended Church, the Synod would have been in a position to reclaim the property, and take the management into its own hands.

Dr. McCulloch had previously proposed that the Church should assume the burden of support, and thus place the matter beyond all political complications, and any claim to interference by the party in Pictou. This he did with full knowledge of the risk to himself, and expressing his readiness to abide the consequences, at the same time feeling assured that if but half of the Church were true to the Master and themselves he would find that under the Divine blessing there would be no risk but certain success.

The members of Synod, especially the older ones, had ceased to take any interest in the Academy's welfare. They failed to realize the gravity of the crisis, or their responsibility in relation to the extension, if not the very existence of the Church, when a little consideration would have shown the consequences of closing the Academy, not merely upon their own congregations when left vacant, but upon the spiritual welfare of an increasing Presbyterian population.

Not a few there were who could not see why, when they were struggling with hardship, they should help to support the Principal of the Academy; one openly stating in Synod that he considered money raised for the Academy in his congregation as taken out of his pocket. Had there been on the part of the Synod any just appreciation of their own rising influence as a body through the characters of the young gentlemen issuing from the Academy, they might easily have shamed into silence this spirit, or prevented its spreading among the people. It was only when opponents, by closing the Institution, had virtually closed the Divinity Hall that they began to realize the results of the past.

That want of loyalty and cordial cooperation is not unjustly charged to brethren, an extract from a letter to a friend in Scotland by one only three years in the Colony, and who held a prominent position in the Church, will show. "While many in the Synod exert themselves with uncommon diligence, others seem indifferent. They seem to think it enough if they attend to their own congregations, without turning their attention to the interests of the Church at large. In this way religion suffers." The general excuse of the brethren was the

poverty of their people, yet almost every family kept liquor, and one farmer assured the writer that it usually took thirty gallons of rum to gather in his harvest. Writing at this crisis Dr. McCulloch says: "Things are coming to such a pass that I have really only one friend upon whom I can rely." and Robertson's History, already quoted, remarks, "The Dr., after enduring long, and who can estimate the amount of mental toil and anxiety he underwent, began at last to despair." Through his long years of labor he felt that few of his brethren comprehended fully the bearing of his work, or the bitterness of the warfare in which he was engaged. They seemed to regard the contest as something personal to him, or as a contest between Pictou and Windsor, with which they had nothing to do. The privations natural to the position of the clergy in those early days had a tendency to concentrate their efforts upon the welfare of their families, and thus limit the range of their christian benevolence.

While matters were in this condition a circumstance occurred which threatened a decisive termination of the contest. During the winter he had gone with my brothers to a wood lot two miles from home. While felling a tree he retired as he thought to a safe distance, but in falling a large branch caught on an adjoining tree, swung around, and struck him on the shoulder, and pitching forward, his hand was caught between a part of the branch and a log or stump, and fearfully mangled. At first it was thought he was killed, but after a short time, recovering consciousness, he was taken home on the sled. On calling in medical aid amputation was advised, but the doctors differed as to the spot. Dissatisfied with their diverse views he decided to let it alone, and in this view he was confirmed by his old friend Dr. Allen, of His Majesty's ship "Menai," which arrived in Pictou not long after the accident. The result justified Dr. Allen's advice, and met his own expectations, though for weeks he suffered intense agony. Writing from Scotland he gives some insight into home difficulties.

"I am a man who has suffered affliction by the rod of His wrath. By my visit to Halifax I have cleared myself of all old scores, and by drawing on you was enabled to go on. When beginning again to feel the need of this world's goods one of my daughters became so ill that we repeatedly gathered around

her bed for the last solemn scene. Providence spared her for a time, and then her sisters were seized with an inflammatory epidemic raging in the Province. Then two of my sons were seized with the same disease, and then their mother. For a fortnight, without changing my clothes, I wandered from room to room, marking the progress of the disease, and expecting death. My enemies comforted me by proclaiming it a judgment. My family have all been spared, and that these trials were a judgment I have no doubt, and if I could sing it would be of mercy as well as of judgment. I can truly say that I never prayed for restoration, but with the saving clause that it might be either way for the glory of God. I have now the cheering prospect of the world before me, without any definite idea what to do. I have told the Trustees that as things are the doors of the Academy must be closed. I have struggled long, and now for a salary which I cannot long enjoy the Academy shall neither lose its Charter, nor be subjected to the control of the Bishop. I was his father's friend, and his own friend, and though possessing an income said to be £3500 stg. yet for the sake of putting down Dissenters he has deprived me of the means of purchasing a loaf.

"Many fervent prayers did Dr. MacGregor put up for the Academy and they will be heard, but the time seems long. A thousand times have I said 'at evening time it will be light' I am deep in the valley of affliction, and the way is dark. Pray that I may have the presence of Him who leads the blind by a way that they know not."

At this very time when everything but his trust in God seemed giving away, and he was inclined to say, "All these things are against me," he was contemplating a lecturing expedition to Newfoundland; no small matter half a century ago. For that purpose he had made considerable preparation, but the project was abandoned by the advice of a former student, a resident of St. John's, who writes, "to you I feel mainly indebted for all that makes me respectable and useful to society and myself," and expressing the pleasure it would give him to welcome him to St. John's, but advising against the visit from the fact that in winter alone could he look for the presence of those who could make his visit remunerative to himself, or beneficial in awakening an interest in scientific subjects.

Some time after Dr. McCulloch's first visit to Scotland he, at the request of some friends there, began a series of tales

designed to be an offset to Sir Walter's Scott's aspersions of the Covenanters in "Old Mortality." Sir Walter entertained toward the Covenanters so little sympathy that he did not hesitate, if not to do them injustice, yet to withhold from them that meed of gratitude which his native land owes for their resistance to the will of a despot, and the well earned influence of Scotland on the world's history. While proud of the name and fame of Scott, many of the best of his countrymen felt that he had not added anything to his laurels by his attack upon the memories of men who upheld his country's freedom when his co-religionists were laboring to trample it in the dust.

The object was to place the principles and characters of the Scottish Covenanters in their true light. Writing to a friend in Glasgow he says:

"I am trying like a slave at the oar to comply with your wishes. I have begun with Popery, and intend to meddle with nothing but Popery, and the progress of Lollardism in the west of Scotland, not forgetting the witches and kelpies that our forefathers worshipped.

I want Crawford's History of Renfrew most sadly. Indeed I cannot do without it. I have laid my scenes on the Levern where I was born, and used to know every old place and person. I expect also to have a great deal to do with the Abbey and Abbots of Paisley." The opening scene was laid at 'Du'cate Ha,' a ruined baronial residence to the south of Glasgow, with the traditions of which he had been familiar from childhood. By some want of care on the part of friends in Scotland, where it was sent with a view to publication, part of a chapter of the manuscript was lost, and the intention to rewrite was never fulfilled. The tales were never published. Writing later of this attempt, Dr. McCulloch says: "I never intended to be an imitator of Sir Walter. I have neither his knowledge nor talents. But on the other hand I conceived that the kind of information and humour which I possess would have enabled me to vindicate where he has misrepresented, and to render contemptible and ludicrous what he has laboured to dignify."

He contemplated an historical work, and made considerable preparation for it, but was forced to lay it aside. A work on Calvinism was revised and prepared for the press, and a volume of "Colonial Reminiscences" was to follow,—begun, but never finished. He also wrote a dissertation upon the work

of the Holy Spirit, and another upon some controverted points about the eldership, also a pamphlet on baptism, which was printed and circulated by order of Presbytery. Another was an account of the State of religion in the Provinces, but it was laid aside—not from lack of material, but from time being so fully occupied that it was hopeless to expect to do justice to such an important subject.

Reference has been made to communications from a party in the Church of England with a view to bringing him into connection with that Church. Of this he wrote:

“You may remember that when in Glasgow, I shewed you a letter from the Reverend trying to persuade me to turn Churchman, with the offer of tempting pecuniary inducements. Since then we have never corresponded except in literary war about the Academy, but lately I received a letter from him proposing that we should assist each other in promoting a plan of education for the Province, which he suggested. His plan was that by an act of the government Windsor College was relieved from all restrictions, and that our Academy should have four hundred pounds a year, and power to confer degrees. That formerly he was employed to convert me I have no doubt, and that the present proposal comes from the same quarter I have no doubt. I merely replied in a letter detailing our ill usage, and telling him that while the Bishop was pursuing his present measures it was no use for me or any other person to write, but that if he, enjoying the friendship of the Bishop, possessed sufficient influence to effect a change in the Bishop’s measures the business might be taken up again.”

In reply he set before his correspondent the nature of his approach as affecting himself, and as it affected the distinctive forms of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches, to which he replies. “I had principles honestly believed to be erroneous, and I would neither abandon nor conceal them for interest, and not a little of this applies to you. You believe our doctrines. These then are your principles, and in coming to us, who are with you in principle you certainly would not abandon your own, much less with a view to interest. As to Church government it is a thing of inferior importance in which more latitude may be allowed. You say you have not much studied our Church government. Will you give me leave to suggest

that you give a little attention to the subject. You are so well acquainted with the early Christian writers that I think it would not cost you much time to be satisfied that there is nothing unlawful in it. I would recommend Hooker's "Polity."

The following are the details of the plan already referred to by which the difficulties of the Academy might be terminated. "To repeal for general students (dissenters) all restrictions on Windsor College Statutes, that Professors and Governors of Windsor College should subscribe the Thirty-Nine Articles, and Professors and Governors of the Academy the Confession of Faith;—that no test be required of students at either Institution; that the (7) Professors to be appointed shall make the rules and Statutes in each Institution; that the Bishop shall have a negative on the rules of Windsor, and the Government on those of the Academy; that both shall have an equal permanent grant, and the Academy the power of conferring degrees.

The writer then proceeds to state his dislike to the restrictions of Windsor College; that the Bishop had opposed them, and that subsequently when repealed the repeal had been disallowed by the Archbishop of Canterbury; that they had again been repealed, and that such repeal became law by the failure of the Archbishop to object within the time specified by the Charter. There were other suggestions practically surrendering the Academy to Government control, which as matters then were would have laid it at the Bishop's feet. So anxious were the Trustees to secure the settlement of the question that in reply Dr. McCulloch in their name was directed to express their and his own desire to meet any reasonable approach to conciliation, but in the meantime circumstances and plans had changed by a movement on the part of the Bishop for the purpose of obtaining possession of Dalhousie College. Under the new project the negotiator disclaimed all authority for his proposals, as if they had no other object but his own desire for peace. He expresses deep regret and astonishment that a man who could write "Popery Condemned" should be located in such a corner as Pictou, and extends sympathy in his poverty and struggles.

CHAPTER XIV.

An Embryo Museum—Audubon—Provincial Affairs.

John Williams declared that he "could not be confined to the barrier of a single reef," and such was the character of Dr. McCulloch's mind. He craved new ranges of investigation; hence arose the effort to gather an entomological collection by which he hoped to advance the interests of education in general by drawing attention to the study of nature, and the interests of the Academy by laying the foundation of a Museum that would be both attractive to strangers and instructive to students. Some of the students entered into the project, and were soon to be seen with flynets and boxes, and woe to the unfortunate moth or beetle that came within their reach. From want of experience, and the defects of the catch, many specimens were useless, though no doubt the catchers helped the night owl and hawks to rid the country of much obnoxious vermin.

Desirous of making some return to his Alma Mater, for which he ever cherished a strong affection, he forwarded a large number of specimens to Glasgow University. These were placed in the Hunterian Museum. Of this he writes: "They are not what I could wish them to be, yet they have cost me many a busy summer, both by day and night. Beside the usual imputation upon all who engage in such pursuits, I have enjoyed abundantly the comforts of American swamps (mosquitoes) things more delectable to hear of than to experience. After returning from the woods stung in every part, I have often spent whole nights in making havoc among the moths, which in this country are both numerous and beautiful. Still, if I can make a collection acceptable to the College I shall be satisfied."

What Dr. McCulloch heard and saw during his visit to Britain in 1825-26, when scientific investigation was attracting the attention of many leading minds, seems to have given a fresh impulse to these pursuits, and his attention was turned to the collection of specimens of native birds. One circumstance which drew his attention in that direction was the skill

exhibited by his son Thomas, both as a collector, and a taxidermist. To him was committed the management of the embryo museum. At every spare moment some of the family were off to the woods with the guns, which were generally kept loaded in case of a stray visitor to the trees around the house. Soon the collection came to be the talk of the countryside, and many a rare bird found its way to the house. When in Scotland Dr. McCulloch had purchased lapidary's wheels, and a turning lathe, in preparation for future work. When writing home at that time he expresses a wish that the family should begin gathering anything bearing upon the comparatively new subjects of study. After such a request it may be taken for granted that they were not idle, and by the time of his return it would have amused a scientist to see, and have puzzled him to classify, the vast heap of stuff that had been collected.

In 1828 he writes to Scotland: "Hitherto, for the sake of the Academy, we have been obliged to provide only for ourselves, and when I tell you that within these ten months my family have filled with birds and beasts the side of a room thirty feet long and ten feet high, made and painted the stands for them, etc, you will see that we have not been idle. It is the first thing of the kind in the Provinces, and will add greatly to the popularity of our Institution. In a short time we will be more at liberty to gratify our friends. You may expect a few insects in the fall, but I fear they will be few, for last winter we had no snow, and the frost killed almost everything but flies and mosquitoes. On application to the Trustees of the Academy they had granted the use of the west room on the second story, which was fitted with glass cases." Again, "I am as busy as a bee in a tar barrel getting our little museum put into something like stylish order. Of birds, four footed beasts, and creeping things I shall soon have a very pretty collection. My sons have entered upon the business with eagerness, and everyone around who can lay hold of anything with life in it sends it to me, so that I expect no lack of material. In various points of view, the addition of a museum will be an important acquisition to our Seminary." At that period there was little sympathy with such work, and by those who should have known



John I Hendrickson
To his friend Tho^d M^o Culloch Esq
London May 1835-

better it was regarded as useless expenditure of time and money. Many could not see what the study of a few birds, moths or reptiles, had to do with human improvement; the idea of securing its permanence as a valuable educational element was esteemed as mere enthusiasm.

While collecting for the museum at Pictou it was suggested that application should be made to the Legislature for a grant, in the hope of establishing one for the Province. At Dr. McCulloch's request Judge Sawers applied to some of the conservative members of the House, and to Judge Stewart, who cordially entered into the project. Mr. Howe was then in power, and bearing in mind the castigation received from the Pictou "Patriot," which unjustly he attributed to Dr. McCulloch, and irritated at the application being made through his opponents, he determined to thwart its purpose. However, finding that many of his own party were pledged to support the grant, he allowed it to pass without opposition. Thrown off their guard by his tacit acquiescence its friends took no pains to scrutinize the bill, while it was drawn so indefinitely that though ostensibly in aid of the Pictou Museum, the grant could be applied to any similar effort in the Province. Mr. Howe stated to Mr. James B. Uniacke, while the bill was under discussion, that he would take care that not a farthing of it would reach Pictou, and he kept his word.

The existence of the museum had in some way come to the knowledge of Mr. Audubon, the American naturalist. In the summer of 1833, in company with some gentleman of similar tastes, he chartered a schooner to visit Labrador in search of specimens. On his return he ran in to Pictou, and spent a day, visited our home, and the museum, minutely examining the birds, and expressing his surprise at finding such a collection in such a place, and the work, largely, of one person in a very few years,—for the birds were all prepared by my brother Thomas. Mr. Audubon spoke very warmly of the truth to nature of the form and attitude of the birds and animals. He felt that in our brother he had found a fellow enthusiast, and from that time till his death they were constant correspondents. When in London in 1834, he received much kindness from Mr.

Audubon and his family, and was later presented with six of his plates, and two engravings of himself.

(From the "Life of Audubon," edited by his widow, we extract the following account of this visit to Pictou.)—Eds.

"Aug. 22. We reached the shore opposite Pictou in two and a half hours, and lay down on the shore to await the arrival of the boat, and gazed on the scenery around us. A number of American vessels lay in the harbor, loading with coal. The village located at the bottom of a fine bay on the northwest side, looked well, although small. Three churches appeared above the rest of the buildings, all of wood, and several vessels were building on the stocks. The whole country seemed to be in a fine state of cultivation and looked well. The population is about two thousand. Our boat came, and we crossed the bay, and put up at the Royal Oak, the best hotel in the place, where we obtained an excellent supper. The very treading of a carpeted floor was comfortable. In the evening we called upon Professor McCulloch, who received us kindly, and showed us his collection of well preserved birds, and other things, and invited us to breakfast tomorrow at eight o'clock, when we are further to inspect his curiosities. The Professor's mansion is a quarter of a mile from the town, and looks much like a small English villa. Aug. 23. We had an excellent Scotch breakfast at the professor's this morning, and his family, consisting of wife, four sons, and daughters, and a sister, were all present. The more I saw and talked with the professor, the more I was pleased with him. I showed him a few of my Labrador drawings, after which we marched in a body to the University and again examined his fine collection. I found there half a dozen specimens of birds, which I longed for, and said so, and he offered them to me with so much apparent good will, that I took them and thanked him. He then asked me to look around and see if there were any other objects I would like to have. He offered me all his fresh water shells, and such minerals as we might choose, and I took a few specimens of iron and copper. He asked me what I thought of his collection and I gave him my answer in writing, adding F. R. S. to my name, and telling him that I wished it might prove useful to him. I am much surprised that his valuable collection has not been purchased by the Governor of the Province, to whom he offered it for five hundred pounds. I think it worth a thousand pounds."

Ere long Dr. McCulloch began to feel that in the museum he had upon his hands an enterprise the care and expense of

which were greater than his ability to support. He was at length obliged to yield to circumstances and abandon this, like other parts of his life work, though not without a struggle. He determined to dispose of the collection, though fully aware that the price obtained would not refund the outlay, much less equal its value. This abandonment of an important educational idea was a sad disappointment. Popular apathy, and indifference, blighted his hopes, and all that was left was the deep conviction that as in other things, so in this, he was a man before his time. The museum was taken to England in 1834 by Thomas McCulloch, junior, and sold in London in detached portions, the Earl of Derby being the largest purchaser. Of this Dr. McCulloch writes: "Our museum is packed up and prepared for sea. In the course of next week my son, Thomas, will sail with it for Hull, and thence to London. It is not as you suppose, either bespoken or purchased. The British Museum at first declined, then gave encouragement and then declined. Our collection is splendid. Its equal never went from North America. Perhaps when in London it may produce another decision. Among the Trustees of the Museum there is much trusting to the keepers, and he who is at the head of the latter is an earnest antiquarian, and has other objects in view. At any rate our collection must go. I am sorry to part with it."

The funds of the Institution, in a crippled state at the change of the Trusteeship, soon ceased to exist as incessant contentions at the Board became known to the public. The curriculum was curtailed, the number of students decreased, and as a matter of course the friends lost heart. The new Trustees very soon ceased to take any interest in the "lower branches," and all the more as its room became crowded with children for whom it was never intended. From the first the school failed to command confidence, and any character which it possessed it derived from its first teacher, Mr. George Blanchard. After a time he left, and the school fell into disrepute. As a matter of fact the new school had the good wishes only of the enemies of the Academy. Not a few of the friends of the Institution struggled to prevent the impending doom.

While there was much gratification expressed by certain parties over the change, it was received by others with deep regret, as tending to dry up the sources of ministerial supply, and to deprive young men of the means of training for secular professions. In looking forward to this event, Dr. McCulloch had written some years before: "If the doors of the Academy are closed, I, of course, must decamp, but as soon as Providence enables me, I will return, and as fast as possible fill these provinces with a race of evangelical preachers. No matter to what denomination they belong, if they are willing to be taught, I will endeavor to teach them. The Rev. Dr. McGregor, in his jocular times, used to call me his son. The Church of Nova Scotia may be truly said to be the work of his hands. God, I trust, will not forsake it, and as I, times innumerable, have called Dr. McGregor "father," I must not desert what was the work of his hands, a work near his heart, and the object of his daily prayers."

Of the state of matters in the year 1834 Dr. McCulloch's own words, extracted from a letter to Scotland, will give a correct idea:

"I promised to give you an account of our affairs, but really I do not know where to begin. The difficulties of the Academy have so many roots originating in local peculiarities that in order to a just view of them it would be necessary for you to live for a number of years among us. Clergy, you know, are not in general the least intelligent part of a community, but so different from Britain do circumstances render the state of society, that I never knew one from Britain who could understand or believe the actual state of affairs in a colony till experience had relieved him of views founded on what he had previously seen.

In relation to the Academy, a stranger would conclude that our congregations viewing it as a nursery for the propagation of the gospel, would hail it as an acquisition, and rally around it, and a few have certainly made great exertions in its behalf, but with the rest its existence or destruction is a matter of perfect indifference. You will naturally ask, 'What are the views of the clergy?' Exactly as their congregations..... This indifference does not proceed from an idea of ill management on the part of the Trustees or teachers. For the good order and proficiency of its students the Academy has acquired

a reputation which its worst enemies have not been able to destroy. From what then, you will ask, does the indifference proceed;

Our Church is scattered over three provinces, and provinces, of course, take no interest in each other's affairs. The members of our Church in general have not yet learned to view themselves as one body. When a congregation gets a minister, its views usually rest there, and as they do not consider the future, those of one province feel little interest in supporting a Seminary of education in another. In Nova Scotia too, there has been with some a coolness on account of the local situation of the Academy, and partly, I believe, from personal jealousies. Wherever one of the clergy has embarked cordially in the business his congregation has always done a little, but in the colonies there are dead weights upon the enterprise of clergy which to a certain extent ought to plead their excuse. For a long period colonies are poor, and because the mother country does almost everything for them, the population are a slavish race, and reluctant to do anything for themselves. Public spirit is the result of a wealthy and dense population. In our provinces this is not to be found. In Nova Scotia there is no race of country gentlemen, nor what you would call wealthy farmers. I know only two merchants who have retired to live on their gains. This deficiency of wealth does not proceed from the poverty of the soil, for upon the seacoast of North America there is not to be found such excellent land as in the Province of Nova Scotia, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. But if you would see Scotland in the sixteenth century, I daresay you would see something of our farming management. With you necessity has excited industry, and reduced everything to system, but necessity here has produced neither. I daresay you will yet find in Scotland little country lairds in comparative poverty. What then must be a colony of country lairds stimulated by no good example, but edifying one another! At the same time I must observe that our farming population is in some respects as unlike the little Scottish lairds as human beings can well be. Ours are a wandering race, and as fond of show as their betters, and withal exceedingly improvident. In their economy they are as much strangers to system as in the management of their time and labour. Of course there are exceptions, but these are few.

The consequence of all this is that we are drowned in debt, and have little to spare. On this account the clergy are wretchedly supported, and apt to be depressed, and the greater part will not believe that by arousing their people to public spirit

they themselves would fare the better.....One shilling annually from every Presbyterian would place the Academy above its difficulties.....

Owing to the want of the annual grant for a number of years, the Trustees owe a debt of £800. When the grant of £400 was restored £100 was appropriated to a Grammar School, and £250 to my support, thus leaving £50 to pay the interest of debt, keep the buildings in repair, and support the second teacher in the Academy. To this may be added about £60 of fees. These are our resources. When this arrangement was made I advertized our Synod that without assistance our Academy could not exist, and it was agreed that nothing could be done. For that year however, it was kept in operation by the exertions of its friends in Pictou. At last the second teacher, (my son Michael) finding that he could not be supported, resigned his office. One of our ministers, having the disposal of a legacy, advanced a part of it, and the teacher resumed.....Last year about £60 were collected. During the present year there is not the least prospect of assistance beyond two or three congregations, and for the future there is no foundation for hope. I must next direct your attention to the management of the Academy.....With these clergy the vacancies at the Board were immediately filled, and in effecting the ends for which they were invested with office, they have certainly been as diligent and persevering as any reasonable bishop could desire. Every meeting has become a most disagreeable scene of contention.....With these disputes I have never interfered.....I can never again sit at the Board as it is now constituted. You have mistaken me in reference to pecuniary independence of the Academy. If it were so I would keep it up, and set Bishop and Council at defiance. * My meaning was that several of my sons are now providing for themselves, and the diminution of my burden rendered me less solicitous about the future.....After a grievous struggle I have neither debt nor wealth, but the world is before me, and though at my time of life folks get a little stiff about the joints, mine I must put to the test when necessity calls.

'My old coadjutors in Academy building, Dr. McGregor, and Mr. Ross are dead, and Pictou has very little appearance of being much longer a place for me. If no change occurs this will most certainly be our last session. To begin the world again, my whole stock is health and determination to work. With these, and a blessing from above, I expect to have food and raiment, and contentment.' About this time the following tribute is paid to Mr. George Smith, a member of the Assembly, and later of the Council.

"The chief earthly support of Presbyterianism in the province is my friend Mr. Smith, who has during the thirty years of our intercourse, neither been elated by prosperity, nor in adversity lost the attachment of those who know him. After surmounting his losses he again has it in his power to be one of the most influential men in Nova Scotia, and the proofs of attachment to his friends which he has uniformly afforded leave no room to dream of misplaced confidence. His worst enemies acknowledge the honesty of his political career."

In May 1834 occurred the first break in the family circle since the death in the early days of the youngest child, Robert, which was caused accidentally by scalding.

Writing on May 23rd, Dr. McCulloch says: "It is now sixteen days since I buried one of my daughters, Elizabeth. She had endured long and very painful disease, which finally terminated in consumption. ✓ Your parents know what it is to part with a dutiful and affectionate child. I felt in it the bitterness of death, while at the same time I could not wish it otherwise. After witnessing what my poor girl passed through I could not but say, 'Good is the will of the Lord.' I trust she is one of those who have 'washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.' I have had a great deal of hard work in the course of my life, but the hardest, I think, was to tell her that she was dying. In reply she observed that she had no dependence but Christ. When the last struggle was over the family were gathered around the bed, and while the father asked that blessing and comfort might descend upon survivors, his prayer was almost entirely a warm expression of gratitude to our Heavenly Father for his kindness to the departed, and an earnest acknowledgement of sparing mercy in leaving her among us so long. Every thought of regret or sorrow seemed swallowed up in thanksgiving. When death visited our home it was the custom for every member of the family, who could be spared, to be in the sanctuary on the Sabbath following, whether the day saw the dead buried or not. 'We need comfort' the father used to say, 'but need not expect it if we violate God's command. It is a poor way to find support to make the false notions of society, and not God's will,

our rule,' referring to the social idea that it was scarcely proper, if not indecent, for mourners to be in God's House if the dead lay unburied, or mourning apparel was unmade. Human nature, in the hour of trial, is apt to dwell upon its losses, rather than on the remembrance of blessings.

To an absent son, Dr. McCulloch wrote on May 16, 1835. "I am sorry that I must be to you a messenger of affliction, but it is the will of our Heavenly Father, and I must not complain. ✓ Today I laid your brother, James, beside your grandmother and Elizabeth, and I trust he will be found with them at the resurrection of the just. For more than a twelve month his health was not good, and his eagerness to improve in his profession induced him to make exertions which his constitution could not stand. On Tuesday last his spirit returned to God who gave it. Even to the last he was mindful of the throne of grace, and I trust he is now with the spirits of just men made perfect who are around the throne. Oh, that we may all be prepared to meet him joyfully where the Lamb who is in the midst of the throne shall lead us to living fountains of waters, and wipe away tears forever. Pray for us, that the corrections of God may do us good."

✓ James Walker McCulloch was about completing his law studies in the office of Mr. Jotham Blanchard, and at the time of his death was in his twenty-third year.

In July, 1834, Dr. McCulloch writes: "In reference to our affairs here I may observe that the whole province is in a deplorable state. Of the origin of our troubles it is difficult to give a clear account, but the following, I conjecture, is not far from the truth. Halifax, our mercantile emporium, being the seat of government, a garrison town, etc., is also the seat of extravagant dissipation, and our merchants, to help them onward in their career, would have a bank. Monied men provided one bank, and then another, and merchants continued to feast and trade till bankers called a halt. As the great body of the community had been living upon credit, the pressure became general, and traders of all sorts have been yielding before it. While affairs were in this state the British Government asked us to pay our own civil list, and even, in one instance at least, recommended an increase of salary. The public being in a grumbling humour, found out that the civil list was already too expensive, and a general flame was kindled. The recommendation was not adopted, the civil list remains in statu quo, and public officers are discontented.

When the civil list was not provided for by the Assembly,

the Council withheld the general grant of money for the roads, and also for education wherever that was possible. This produced additional pressure, and additional discontent. The result is that traders abuse the banks which have refused them credits, and the whole community abuse the Legislature, and it has somehow happened that between parties our Assembly has become most unpopular. The country in different parts is proposing to petition for a dissolution, but as the Governor had just entered into office, it is not probable that he will interfere. With matters in this state our Church affairs cannot be prosperous. At present we are going backward." Later in the same year he says: "Providence has blessed me with a dutiful family, by whose means the work was carried on when it could not otherwise have existed respectably. My son Michael is struggling with a family, along with me, because he knows that when he leaves it my classes and salary must cease. Can my son be blamed for relinquishing such a project when he sees the case hopeless? My next two (David and Thomas) are endeavoring to creep into business. My fourth (William) is teaching three hundred miles distant, and my youngest, James, is articulated to Mr. Blanchard. This is all the prosperity of my family, except their mutual attachment, which is not small."

That those who had by their wrangling and jealousies been directly or indirectly the means of the Academy's failure, and the unconscious aiders of the Tory party in Pictou, should be satisfied with their work was scarcely to be expected. The opinion of the public was too well known to them and feeling that they were being blamed for the position they had taken either of hostility or neglect, a proposal was made, in cooperation with the friends of the Institution, to petition the legislature to restore the property to its original position. Another idea was to start a Seminary independent of either government aid or interference. But although the Lower ✓ Branches School was a complete failure, no encouragement was given to either of these proposals. It was felt that unless promises meant more than the usual resolutions, such plans could not succeed, and that the work would as heretofore be thrown upon the Pictou Presbytery, and a very few outside congregations. Many who had been willing to subscribe to a petition declined to waste more than ink.

To a letter written in Pictou, and published in an Edinburgh paper, the object of which was to shake the confidence of Scottish friends of the Academy in the veracity of its Trustees and friends in Nova Scotia, Dr. McCulloch replied in the "Patriot." One paragraph is here quoted: "From what we know of Presbyterian obstinacy the Academy question under the Bishop's tactics will produce results which the Governor of the Province will contemplate with as little pleasure as the Council's speculation in brandy. Let our readers view the subject in its various bearings. Here is a Seminary patronized by the popular branch of the Legislature, but harassed and oppressed by our Lord Bishop, its Trustees vilified, and its supporters soured by the feeling that to gratify the Bishop, the religion and education of their offspring must be put under his feet. We ask, to what does all this tend?"

A similar letter was sent to the Mission Board of the Secession Church in Scotland, and was at once conveyed to Dr. McCulloch as a warning; another addressed to Dr. Pringle of Newcastle, England, says "For the sake of the Academy he is ruining the Church to educate ministers in Nova Scotia instead of obtaining them from Scotland." Some of these writers were not aware that their letters, or extracts from them, were returned to Nova Scotia with permission to make use of them, but for the sake of the Church he forebore. The following gives some insight into the state of ecclesiastical matters in New Brunswick in the early thirties. "These alienations are destroying religion, and the Glasgow Society has much for which to answer in placing ministers in congregations already supplied, and thus fomenting social and religious discord. Of this the late occurrences in Miramichi afford a most humiliating illustration. With sword and pistol they took possession of the Church, and to avoid the consequences they agreed to pay our congregation £250 for their rights in the Church. We had gone to ordain Mr. John McCurdy, who the following day was duly set apart to his work without interference."

A leading gentleman of New Brunswick thus writes to Dr. McCulloch: "You are already aware that the Bishop has

succeeded in providing that the College in Fredericton shall be subservient to the perpetuation of that system of injustice which robs a large part of the people of these Provinces of those rights to which, by a faithful discharge of what they owe to the Government, they are as justly entitled as any dignitary in the kingdom. If the honorable struggle which the friends of the Academy in Pictou are making for their just rights be successful, these Provinces will reap incalculable benefit. It will be a victory over that party which the people have long been tutored to believe invincible, and will show Dissenters their strength, of which they are yet ignorant."

✓The contest, as far as the Academy was concerned, was a losing one, but its very bitterness and duration secured the victory to which the writer refers. During those long years the origin and character of the institution had become well known, as had the reason and design of its foes, and while endeavoring to put it down their flagrant injustice was known far and wide, and unintentionally, they were teaching the people the ultimate danger to civil liberty of the existing system. While putting a coal to the Academy which burned slowly, they were putting a brand to their own edifice which quickly laid it in ruins. Dissenters have no ill feeling to Episcopacy as such. The writer himself was once a teacher in an Episcopal Sabbath School, and an intimate friend of the honoured rector, (in Yarmouth, N. S.) But the assumption of superiority arising out of the figments of apostolic succession, and the semipopish idea of the invalidity of all orders but their own, have awakened feelings, certainly not of respect, rather of indifference. While there are those who refuse to recognize a dissenting clergyman as a clergyman, there are honourable exceptions, men who will as cordially unite with them in serving their Master as with one of their own Church.

The following statement written in 1835, to James Mitchell, Esq., gives further particulars of the situation subsequent to the change in management.

"In the expectation, however, that the new Trustees might be induced to become more reasonable, the Synod appointed a committee to correspond with them. Of the pro-

ceedings of this Committee I learned nothing till half a year afterward, when one of its members advised me that they had judged it useless to enter upon the business, and though it was perfectly evident to all who knew the state of parties in the Legislature that no further support could be expected from that quarter, and that without recovering the £100 a year at present appropriated to the Grammar School the Academy could not exist, he further informed me that our congregations would not petition Government for that sum nor for any other alteration in the Charter, but that they would petition for more money. Such a petition was accordingly submitted to the Assembly, and contemptuously tossed under their table. My correspondent farther stated that the public were now very much cooled toward the Academy. This was unexpected and mortifying information, for its usefulness had been so generally recognized that even the new Trustees could find no charge against the teachers, or the proficiency and deportment of the students.

The letter, as an official document, left me no alternative but to lay the state of the Academy before the Governor. I, therefore, proceeded to Halifax with a brief statement, and accompanied by the Speaker of the Assembly and a few other members, presented it to His Excellency. The result of our interview was an opinion expressed by the Governor that as a change in the system of our provincial education was contemplated, the Academy might be reduced to a simple Grammar school, and a knowledge of the higher branches be derived from a different source. What this means I shall by and by explain. As regards myself neither the Governor, nor others in both branches of the Legislature seemed to think that I should be left unprovided with the means of subsistence..... Formerly the principal part of the public spirit of our Church was in the Presbytery of Pictou. On this account it was viewed by some not as a pattern, and when the Academy was founded it was looked upon by these brethren rather in its bearings on the aggrandizement of Pictou, than upon its connection with the interests of the Church. Among the clergy this spirit is now gone, but previously not a few congregations had caught it, and at present these clergy cannot do what they would.

In a preceding part of my letter I mentioned the remark of the Governor respecting the future of the Academy, and the general education of the Province. The grounds of his observation I shall now endeavor to explain. The £1000 a year which Kings College has received from the British Government

has been withdrawn, and at present its teachers are subsisting upon short commons. To meet this misfortune, the Bishop has, I believe, managed to obtain from Britain a recommendation to our Government to transfer his Seminary to Dalhousie College, in Halifax, which is an empty building with considerable funds. From the hints of the Governor, I could see that by making it the only institution of the kind in the Province, the Bishop's long contemplated plan of placing our education under the control of his Church had not been overlooked You will easily perceive that Seceders are likely to be accounted as bigots, entitled to little consideration from the powers that be, so that in representatives it requires fortitude even to belong to such a body. On our part they have need, not of indifference, but of that determined firmness which would press them onward.....

I feel as if the preceding details had drawn from the British friends of the Academy the conclusion that there must be something wrong, either in the management, or in my own conduct.....As respects myself none of the brethren have any cause to account me either idle or selfish; but in my own behalf, and for the satisfaction of our friends in Britain, I have annexed a certificate, which, in anticipation of future events, I received by order of Synod at their last meeting. It refers, as you will perceive, to the termination of my public connection with the Church, which, in the event of my expulsion from the Academy, must cease to exist. What may be my subsequent destiny is utterly uncertain. If the doors of the Academy be closed I cannot expect Government to support me in idleness. It is, I know, the wish of some of my friends to force me into Dalhousie College, but to this, at the expense of the Academy, I am utterly repugnant. When it was proposed to me several years ago I declared that I would consent to no plan which would compromise the interests of Presbyterianism, and again last winter, when the subject was talked over at a meeting of friends in Halifax, I stated that having at farthest but a few years to live, it was my wish to spend them in the footsteps of Dr. McGregor, and Mr. Ross; and further that though the Academy should be destroyed, if its doors were again opened, I would leave other employment for its sake.

In requesting you to submit these details to the Secretaries of your Society and other friends, it is not for the purpose of inducing them to make pecuniary exertions in our behalf. It has ever been my decided opinion, that if education is to be promoted among Presbyterians here, it must be

by surmounting the slavish spirit of colonists, and learning to exert themselves in their own behalf. Foreign aid can only be temporary, and in the present case it would merely cherish a spirit which our Church, if they consult the interests of religion, must learn to overcome..... Beside, there is in some of our congregations a perversion of generosity, which while it gives its funds to Bible and Missionary Societies, would refuse a mite to promote the permanence of the gospel among themselves. Here, I believe, the fault belongs more to the clergy than to their congregations. Sometimes, even among the clergy, the conversion of heathen at a distance has a charm which excludes from the mind the idea of pleasure in the salvation of sinners at their doors..... Though I wish no pecuniary aid from our friends I earnestly solicit their advice; in present circumstances, I need the assistance of those who can supply me with the wisdom which is profitable to direct. If our friends in Glasgow will have the goodness to advise me, I will endeavor to make the best use of their counsel. Should the Academy be continued, a little aid from the Glasgow Society in the form of books and philosophical apparatus, would place it at the head of colonial Seminaries, but were the Society to support our whole establishment, the population would receive their bounty as superseding the necessity of exertion, and ultimately the Academy would be left in its present circumstances. The preceding communication, you will perceive, contains details which are not meant for the public eye. At the same time, I believe, it contains nothing but truth, but for the satisfaction of our Glasgow friends who have done so much for us I have read it to the Commission of our Church, and requested the members individually to point out any inaccuracy in it which they might detect."

In a private letter accompanying the foregoing Dr. McCulloch says, "During these twenty-five years, though I have travelled more than any of the brethren, no man can say 'I have made Abram rich.' I have uniformly refused remuneration. Judging it neither reputable to myself, nor to the Church, I returned money sent me by Episcopalians, when we were fighting with the Bishop, and from one of them I declined a pressing offer of £25 a year until the question should be settled. Last winter, and a part of this summer, I, every Sabbath, rode fourteen miles to supply the pulpit of a deceased friend that the salary might accrue to his destitute family. These things I mention not ostentatiously, but to show that none of my brethren can reasonably account me a Demas, and ought

not on such a ground to look upon the Academy with coolness. In promoting the interests of the gospel, I may have been faulty in the means, but I can honestly say that I have sought them at the expense of worldly considerations. But the increase is of God, and He seems to withhold it..... I am therefore sending you a statement which my brethren have declared to be correct, and with which I trust I may appear at the judgment seat of Christ."

The following was written in the same year as the foregoing statement:

"I have at present the prospect of beginning the world anew. No man can have the interests of the Academy more closely at heart than myself. But if our clergy and their congregations continue their torpidity it must go down, and if I am to leave it the sooner the better."

Again, referring to the same matters, "At next meeting of the Legislature the fate of the Academy will probably be decided. In the meantime its prospects are certainly most unpromising. It has the wealth, talent, and influence of Episcopacy, and the Kirk clergy arrayed against it. On our part there is exactly what I have stated. Were our Assembly men of independent minds there might be hope of the Academy, as at present they have the Bishop's plan of education completely under their control, (by withdrawal of the Provincial grant of £400 from his college at Windsor.) Although his College has this grant he can neither alter its location, nor obtain Dalhousie College without an act of the Legislature. Our Assembly might therefore thwart his measures, and do justice to dissenters, but collectively its members are regarded as the least independent who ever sat in the Province, and what may occur it is impossible to foresee."

The certificate given by Synod is here appended.

Pictou, Nova Scotia, Sept. 28, 1835.

The Rev. Thomas McCulloch, D.D., Professor of Divinity under the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, having petitioned the said Synod to give him a certificate of his character in case his connection with the Synod should terminate before the next meeting, and the Synod having instructed us the undersigned, the Moderator and Clerk, to give him such a certificate as may express the high opinion which the Synod entertains of their Professor of Divinity, we, the undersigned do hereby certify that the said Rev. Thomas McCulloch, D.D., has for fifteen years discharged the duties of Professor of Divinity to the entire satisfaction of the Synod, and that for upwards of seventeen years he has discharged the

duties of Principal of the Academy of Pictou to the entire satisfaction of the friends and supporters of that Institution, though from the influence of sectarian jealousies, and the hostility of party politicians the Seminary has not prospered under him as might have been expected, and he has been bespattered with the foulest and most groundless slanders; and we cordially recommend the said Rev. Thomas McCulloch, D.D. to the fraternal love and confidence of the churches of Christ where Providence may cast his lot, as an exemplary Christian, an able and faithful minister of the gospel, and an accomplished and successful Academical instructor."

DAVID ROY, Moderator,
JAMES ROBSON, Clerk.

In Nov. 1835, Dr. McCulloch writes to James Mitchell, Esq.: "When I was appointed the instructor of the first class of theological Students, I declined receiving a salary from the Synod. Afterward when they were licensed, and useful in the Church, I accepted forty pounds a year, and this sum I have continued to receive to the present year. But though our Synod collection at one time amounted to more than £120 it has dwindled down to about £25, out of which £20 were allowed me. Taking all that I have stated as links of the same chain, I cannot but feel my professorship of divinity a stumbling block in the way of the public spirit of a number of our clergy. Would your father, in similar circumstances, teach for the Secession Church?"

In Dec. '36 he writes to Prof. John Mitchell:

"At last I resigned upon the express ground that the prosperity of the Church called for my resignation. I had previously informed them that I felt the spirit which was working among them. You will scarcely believe me when I tell you that after disputing for days whether they should allow me thirty or forty pounds, a majority carried that thirty was their utmost ability, and even this they would not guarantee.

After this consultation and conclusion, the Synod concluding that I knew the value of thirty pounds, and would not find it at every door, voted me thanks for past services, and invited me to take it. The public spirit of the Church, which is limited to a few, is kept down by the rest. Most of them have a crooked and perverse generation to deal with, and instead of struggling like Dr. McGregor, and a few others, to make their congregations public spirited, they have themselves become bondmen. Our Synod agreed to publish your address. It was read in two or three congregations around the Academy,

Halifax, Sep. 25, 1838.

Gentlemen,

Having accepted the office which the Governors of
Dalhousie College have had the goodness to allot me in that semi-
nary, I hereby resign that which I held under you as Trustee
of the Nelson Academy.

I have the honour to be

Yours most Obedt Servt

Thomas Mitchell.

To the Trustees of the
Nelson Academy:

and they instantly agreed to guarantee for it twenty pounds a year. This shows that they are satisfied of its utility. But my own decided opinion is that it will never prosper till its doors be closed."

CHAPTER XV.

Address to Synod—Philosophical Society.

The matter of the divinity professorship at last reached a crisis, and determined that if the Synod were in ignorance that ignorance should cease, Dr. McCulloch prepared an address which he delivered before the Council, a transcript of which is here given. After a glance at the necessities of the Church, and the effort to establish the Academy, it continues with a specific statement of the difficulties he had personally to encounter. Names given at the time are now suppressed.

“One of your Reverend Court, Mr.—has used his influence against the Institution, by informing Bishop Inglis that the Academy received too much from Government for the work done, and succeeded in having part of the grant withdrawn. Another Mr.—denounced the Institution as a wild and extravagant scheme, and not only has not aided us, but has prevented others, because the Trustees refused to take his advice as to its site. At the annual examination Dr. McGregor had to use his influence to prevent his attacking the whole system, and in the few remarks made by him he showed his discourtesy by sitting while addressing the professors and students. At another examination, Mr.—, in the presence of a large audience, carped at everything because the Trustees had not, on a vacancy occurring on the Board, elected him to fill it, and had refused to alter their plans at his suggestion.

Moderator. A general feeling of hostility pervades this Court, not so much toward the Academy as toward myself and yet through me, against the Academy. “There is a prevalent feeling on the part of some in this Court that what is done for the Institution is done, not for the cause of God but for me, and I am held up as a self seeker, and so represented to their congregations by brethren who would not venture the assertion here openly, much less attempt to prove it. My record, Moderator, is before the Church. I have travelled more, and supplied more vacancies than any of the men who speak of me as enjoying a life of idleness at the expense of the Church, and, with a few exceptions, more than any one in this Synod, and I challenge the fault finding to state a single instance in which I made money out of the poverty of gospel hearers. On the appeal of the Trustees for

aid to a library for the benefit of their own students many congregations could contribute to other charities, but not a mite to qualify our young ministers for their work. After I accepted office as Professor to your Synod I received no remuneration till after the second class came under my care, and when the question of remuneration was raised in the Synod it elicited expressions of feeling which indicated more jealousy of me than regard for the Master's work, or even worldly honesty in rewarding labor. For two days, at a subsequent period, your Court wrangled over my salary. Some considered thirty pounds too much for the labor of a year, while others thought the honor of the office a sufficient reward. From pretended inability to raise forty pounds my salary was cut down, and instead of attempting to collect that small sum, the Synod advised to fund the collections of the Church to provide a salary for my successor.

It was the current talk in not a few congregations and by some of my brethren, that Dr. McCulloch was getting more money than many who worked as hard as he did. What are the facts, Moderator? While many were adding farming to their preaching, and out of their farms securing comforts which I not, I was teaching their students for a year without, receiving a penny as a fee. They have accused me of selfishness and I now and here, challenge them to name one single act of my selfishness. They cannot do it. I took what should have gone to my family's comfort to provide the means of a better training for your students. I ask them a single brother in trouble whom I have not endeavored to assist. As some of you know, Moderator, I have even borne patiently a base slander, as appropriating congregational money raised for the Academy in order to screen a brother to whom I certainly owed no debt of gratitude, and that slander was retailed by brethren in this Court who knew perfectly all the facts and my innocence.

For the sake of preparing students for the Academy I taught the Grammar School for seven years, and except in two or three cases of thoughtful parents I never received a fee for a student. My door was ever open to them, and a seat at my table, when, though not specially invited they chose to come, and what my family could do to make things pleasant they did. Yet a member of this Court whose son I trained, and to whom my house was a second home, threatened me with my Master's curse! If denial of these things is made, proof is at hand.

When as your Professor in the Academy, and in the Divinity Hall, I was repeatedly libelled and disgrace thrown

on the body and Church through me, my brethren either showed the most perfect indifference or enjoyed my castigation; while I had to endure all this I had in my possession urgent offers of situations in which my selfishness might have been abundantly gratified. More than that, Moderator, when I might have claimed my salary, as the greedy, grasping character that I am represented to be, I can appeal to the Trustees for the fact that for the improvement of the students, and the respectability of the Academy, I was ever the first to insist that its claims should take precedence even of my wants. While others were confining themselves to the limits of their own pastoral work, indifferent to the struggles in which we were engaged, shrinking from a share of the abuse of foes heaped upon us through the press, and deprecating our opposition to the Government (the Council), on me fell the displeasure of the authorities. I bore the opposition of the Government, the displeasure of Lord Dalhousie as a dissenter, and 'a man to be watched,' the jealous dislike of the Bishop and his oppressive acts, and the hatred and slander of the Kirk, contending for rights and privileges which our Church now enjoys, and of which the clergy of our Church now receive the emoluments. In the meantime I had obtained among my brethren, especially because of my stand against Episcopal domination, a character for turbulence, and something more, till one after another, brethren learned what it was to have the Bishop tampering with their own congregations, and his chaplain, even in one of our Churches, telling them that their prayers were only 'crude conceptions'.

Beside this, Moderator, letters were sent to Scotland containing the most unfounded statements of our action, and the contemptible character of the training given in the Academy. I was represented as a man of unbounded pretensions, and our effort to train a native ministry, as certain to fail by its own folly. You know, Moderator, the treatment I received when a sense of duty to myself led me to resign the Professorship of the Synod, the harsh statements made by some around you on the largeness of the salary from the Synod, £40, compared with my work; the feeling of many that it was money badly spent, and the assertion that the Church could not raise it, and that I must take less. Is it a matter of wonder, Moderator, that with all this and a great deal more that I might state, that knowing the feeling of not a few in this Synod toward me, and the way taken to show dislike, I should have resigned my position, and only resumed it declaring that I would receive my salary, if only a shilling, from the Pictou

Presbytery, and not one penny from those whose conduct I have assailed. I state these things not from any personal feeling toward the brethren, but to put myself right before the public, and the Church, where opinions of my character and work not of the most friendly kind have been circulated freely, by whom I do not say. I am here now before my Master in the highest Court of His Church, and I demand, and have right to demand, protection, as your professor, or summary dismissal from my office.

Further I challenge any one dissatisfied with me to stand forth and state openly wherein I have used my position or influence to secure those selfish ends with which I have been charged. No personal ends, Moderator, have led me to address you. I have not been so many years in this Province without being known, and even those hostile to my work, in assailing my character do not profess to do so on personal grounds, but quote the estimate of me, as they say, derived from those who, if unprepared to build up the interests of their Church, should not have been found helping foes to its destruction. In conclusion, Moderator, I say to this court that my only object is to promote the welfare of the Church, for which I have already labored much, and suffered much, and if I am to retire from your service all I ask is, that as I have not interfered with others, I may be left to pursue my work undisturbed. I have now done what justice to myself imperatively demanded. Making no formal complaint I leave the Court to act by me as God may direct, pledging myself to recognize and submit to its judgment."

It will readily be acknowledged that such an address before a Church Court was unique. He who made it must have been fully assured of having an unanswerable case. Known as he was for his reticence, this outburst shows the extent of the feeling which had led to it. The long pent up sense of injury broke forth in a way that his detractors never forgot.

For mere controversy he had a strong dislike, gratuitous attack was utterly alien to his nature, and anonymous slander he abhorred. Truth was never allowed to suffer in his hand, nor violated rights to remain unvindicated. He could, and did, bear long, but when duty suggested an end of forbearance, once aroused, he neither counted the cost, nor couched his denunciations in terms of mildness. It is not said that he never gave cause of offense. His temper, was quick and keen,

and his style, in speaking or writing, incisive, and in view of the preceding details he would have been more than human had he not sometimes exceeded the bounds of christian courtesy, but of those opposed to him, and misrepresenting his character and procedure, his children can testify that he was ever careful in his family to speak no ill. There were often seated at his table, at times of Synod, and Academy examinations, men who spoke not with bated breath of his ambition, and neither by word or sign was a distinction made between them and attached friends. What he suffered at the hands of Rev. K. J. McKenzie, none ever knew but his God and himself. Yet the worst I ever heard him say of him was as I entered his study, and told him of his death. Starting, much shocked, all he could say was "poor man, poor man;" and at that moment it seemed that if ever his heart had harboured a bitter thought, it was swallowed up in the awfulness of eternity.

To James Mitchell, Esq.

Oct. 22, 1835.

After my return from Halifax the second teacher informed the Trustees that he could not continue his labors, and a meeting of the Board ensued, which terminated in a request that he would continue till another meeting was held. At the next meeting he was again requested to continue, but having not the least assurance of support, he resigned. The students under his charge were dismissed and at the end of this month, mine also, having finished their course under me, will return to their homes. Such is the state of the Academy..... We are scattered over three Provinces, and our congregations have yet to learn that as religious men they have one common interest. Dr. McGregor, and Mr. Ross, both founders, and pillars of the Academy, have been called to their reward, and in reference to all public purposes, they have left blanks behind them. In Pictou the old congregations have acted nobly, but they justly say that they are neither able or willing to do all. Squire Matheson will give £100 before it go down, Squire Carmichael will give £20 per annum as long as he lives ere it stop. Many others talk of giving more who did not think it worth while to enquire about it before, but he who brings good out of evil will overrule in all things."

The effect upon Dr. McCulloch's mind of the resignation of the second professor it is impossible to describe. While con-

tinuing his work, and striving to make the best of his situation he seemed like a man who had lost or missed something, though scarcely knowing what. Seeing long years of toil verging to disappointment, and bound up with this failure the future spiritual welfare of his adopted home, caused regrets that mere pecuniary, trouble could never have excited. Often he seemed inclined to ask, "Why hast thou made me thus?" He saw the friends, with whom he had fought his life's battles, leaving him for Home, and felt that his name, once a power, and his pen, once an influence, no longer possessed their old value in the changed circumstances of society. Still he was prepared to throw himself with what energy was left him into the new movement.

To James Mitchell, Esq.

In June '36; "The Synod contains a few spirited young brethren, who as yet have been cramped, and I may say borne down by others, but their dissatisfaction with the state of our affairs is becoming prominent, and may perhaps prove the commencement of better times. As an evidence of the above I may mention that four of them formed themselves into a Society for the purpose of re-establishing the Natural Philosophy Class; in this they were joined by a number of fellow students, and they now have the class in operation under their own management. I lecture to them without emolument, and the Society's funds are expended upon an operator, and incidental expenses. The course includes chemistry, and as it is illustrated by a splendid series of experiments, I am even with an assistant subjected to grievous fatigue. Our apparatus is very defective, and that is a source of much labour. Beside, in many cases, we must manufacture the materials with which experiments are made. What would cost only a few pence in Britain costs us the labour of days."

The "Ladies Society" of Pictou continued to assist the theological library. In '36 the following order was sent to Prof. Mitchell, accompanied by £5 from this source. I must beg you to expend the cash upon such works as your judgment suggests, excluding ecclesiastical history, Dwight, Hill, Hume, and Wilsius, which are in our possession. I would like to have the German Hermeneutica, at present in course of publication, but not unless the work has your approbation. German critics are often bad theologians, and ill adapted to guide young minds to the knowledge of the truth."

To The Same.

June '36

"I trust that the closing of its doors will excite dissatisfaction which may produce beneficial results. At last meeting of our Legislature the Academy was declared to be a dead failure, and it was proposed to transfer a part of our annual grant, and myself along with it, to Dalhousie College. On account of some difficulty about the funds of the latter which are invested in the name of Lord Dalhousie, nothing was done in the business, but the College will unquestionably be opened soon. I have no wish to be in it. It would be like tearing the flesh from my bones to leave Pictou, but where the Legislature orders there I must go. God has brought me through fire and water. O, that he may bring me to "the wealthy place."

Perhaps all parties were mistaken in attempting permanently to mould the history of a country then in the earliest formative stage, and yet such is the character of human effort. How seldom do men make provision for expansion or change. The idea of the Academy was evidently of a permanent character, and had it succeeded might have dwarfed the character of the education of the country and hindered its progress. Its originators, in trying to supply an existing want, were unable to see or even conjecture the elements of future need, and while they did service whose influence will never cease to be left, their work is now only an historical memory, but a memory of which their descendants are justly proud.

At the close of each term, contrasting the current with the past prosperous state of the Academy, Dr. McCulloch felt it a relief to be freed from its depressing surroundings. Having more time at his command and less responsibility, owing to the changes in the Institution, he usually spent his vacations in different parts of the Province, preaching as opportunity offered, and collecting specimens of minerals and plants. In these excursions, being light of foot, he often preferred walking to driving. One mid-summer day he left home to assist Mr. Brown of Londonderry. Arriving weary and travel stained, he went at once to the pulpit, to the consternation of some of the elders, to whom he was personally unknown. On Mr. Brown's appearance they hastened to him with the startling tale that a crazy man had entered the pulpit. He proceeded to confront the intruder, the

elders in breathless expectation awaiting the result, when to their amazement the 'crazy man' arose, and gave out a Psalm. Not for many a day did the elders hear the last of their mistake. On another occasion he rode to Halifax on the family steed, old "Jack." On arrival "Jack" was duly installed in the Rev. Mr. Robson's pasture; when ready to return it was found that, probably tired of life in the capital, he had left, it was concluded, for home, where his master, after walking a great part of the way, found him quietly grazing in the field.

CHAPTER XVI.

Removal to Dalhousie College—Correspondence.

In the year 1836, one of the old pupils, Charles Dickson Archibald, son of the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald, visited Nova Scotia, and naturally came to see the Academy and his former teacher. In conversation he was made aware of the unpromising condition of educational matters, and the unpleasantness of Dr. McCulloch's position. On returning to Halifax he broached the subject to his father of reviving Dalhousie College, with the Doctor as Principal. At first the suggestion was not regarded with favor, as it presented a prospect of a revival of the old contentings supposed to have been settled by the Lower Branches Bill, but so notorious was the failure of that Bill, and its effect upon the position of the Principal, that it was felt that whatever became of the Academy he must not be abandoned. The project was entertained by not a few who had opposed the Academy as politicians, but who now that it was out of their way were pleased to do justice to the educational worth of its Principal, and to unite with his friends in securing his removal.

To Charles D. Archibald, Esq.

Pictou, April 24th, 1838.

"It appears to me to be 'cutting before the point' for either Mr. —, or myself to prescribe for a Seminary to which neither of us as yet belongs. But as that gentleman has suggested the course of education in Dalhousie College, I shall now, in confidence, submit to you my own views for the purpose that they may be communicated to your father, not that they may be adopted, but that he may judge for himself..... To Mr. —'s curriculum as necessary for obtaining a degree I have nothing to object. It is that which has been accounted necessary in European Colleges, but upon his subordinate details, I have something to remark..... That he who teaches Latin and Greek in Dalhousie College should know his business well, its respectability requires, but that boys should, in Halifax or elsewhere, spend six or seven years upon these languages, and then four more in College, partially occupied with the same studies, is a waste of human life, adapted neither to the circumstances nor the prosperity of Nova Scotia.

In the present state of this province all that is requisite is a professor who can give his pupils specimens of just translation, and instil into them ideas of accuracy of interpretation. Afterward if they choose to devote themselves to the study of languages, their collegiate instruction will contribute to their success, but should they direct their attention to the real business of life, they will not have just cause to complain that they have spent their youth upon studies foreign to their success. If Dalhousie College acquire usefulness and eminence, it will be not by an imitation of Oxford, but as an institution of science, and practical intelligence. ✓

His proposal that the College should commence with three or four professors appears to me to involve an expenditure of money without adequate advantage.....It seems to me, therefore, that the interests of the College, and also of the public, would be best subserved by announcing that the several classes would be opened as the students were ready for them, and in the meantime, if the Governors chose to nominate any of the present candidates to professorships, they would have a reasonable time to prepare.

It is also my decided opinion that for the curriculum Mr.—proposes, Dalhousie College will not admit of four professors, and also that whenever a fourth is nominated, it ought to be or Natural History, that is Mineralogy, Zoology, Botany, etc. This is requisite to render the College a scientific institution. To give it splendour, and to give its students general intelligence, it ought to contain every kind of natural production to be found in the Province, and as much as possible from other quarters; and permit me to add, that knowing your tastes, and also your exertions in behalf of the College, I should be grievously disappointed if I could not render this professorship subservient to your wishes."

In 1838 a Bill was introduced into the Assembly appointing Dr. McCulloch to Dalhousie, and applying £200 of the Academy grant toward his salary. While he was awaiting in uncertainty the fate of the bill that was to decide his future, at family prayers one morning, when engaged in singing Psalm 27:6,

"And now even at this present time,
My head shall lifted be,
Above all those that are my foes,
And round encompass me."

a knock was heard at the door. An official document was

handed in, and laid upon the table, which at the conclusion of prayer, Dr. McCulloch opened, and read therein his appointment. While it was hard to leave the home, where so many eventful years had been spent, still our parents felt that God had set them free from a harrassing position, which might have driven them to find a home, for the second time, in a land of strangers.

The Scriptures declare that "God gives no account of His matters." In the wisdom of His procedure He often allows energies to be aroused, and plans to be formed, and to a certain extent to be successful, and when, to human eye, about to become an element of permanent good, permits them to wither like the grass upon the house top, leaving us to wonder why it is so, and as natural under failure, to imagine that all the labor has been in vain. Study of providences will shew us that anticipated benefits of any work, however good, are often only temporary, while the benefits involved in the plan must not only await the lapse of years for their development, but require the failure of the original plan itself. But the ideas on which it was founded continue to work till the ultimate purpose is accomplished. This ruin may be under a direct dispensation of Providence, or it may be by secondary permitted means. Still in either case we see a divine hand as the purpose of God unfolds itself. Even in the moment of our most assured success, had we the power of vision, we could detect the cloud small as a man's hand casting its shadow over our undimmed sky. So it was in this case; an idea started with great labor and trouble and wrought out to what seemed indisputable evidence of success, like Jonah's gourd withered and died. After events have shown that opponents were merely agents fulfilling, though unconsciously, a divine purpose. The Academy had accomplished its real objects, the setting forth the value of a native ministry, the awakening of the public mind to the necessity of higher education in the Province, and the impossibility of forming a provincial social life on the basis of a mere grammar school education. Hence, on the failure of the Academy, the spirit evolved by that institution, though for a time held in abeyance by circumstances, manifested itself in

the Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, which again merged in the present condition of Dalhousie College. It may be said that if the Academy had never existed, Dalhousie would have come to the front; but no end is decreed without the preceding means.

Had Dr. McCulloch lived to see what has been done by that College he would have been amply repaid for all the labors and trials through which he had been called to pass. He was not spared to see a revival of education in his Church, and in the Province, but he went down to his grave in the firm hope that Dr. McGregor's prophecy would be fulfilled; "if it go down, Dissenters will force another into existence in twenty five years." It did go down, and its foes exulted in the ruin they had wrought, but the time came when Dr. MacGregor's prophecy was fulfilled; when the prominent men engaged in its ruin had gone to their account, it rose by the exertions of those who had been trained within its walls, and has been honored to do a work that the old Academy could not have achieved.

At a time when the affairs of the Church seemed almost desperate, through want of ministerial supply, and when meetings were held in different parts of the Church and resolutions passed, and in accordance therewith most urgent appeals made to the Home Church—appeals that met with so few responses that they may almost be said to have failed,—at this period an institution was opened at Durham, County of Pictou, was subsequently transferred to Truro, and after the Union of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia with the Free Church in 1860, became the basis of the resuscitation and efficiency of Dalhousie College as it is today. The wisdom of this act of the Synod is part of the Church's history, and the germ of that vast spreading tree of Presbyterianism destined to gather under its shade millions of the future.

To Prof. John Mitchell

June, 1838

"The Academy has been with a number of our brethren here a source of much dislike, and to you, and other friends, a source of much trouble and expense. I have now to announce

that, for some time at least, it will cease to be a burdensome stone. The Bishop and the Kirk clergy have so far effected their purpose that it has ceased to be a source of clerical education to our Church. Strange to say, though the enemies of the Academy have wrought its destruction, there is no rejoicing. On the contrary, when they perceived the result of their opposition they exerted themselves to preserve it in operation..... You already know that owing to the Legislative arrangement of the funds of the Academy, the system of education could not be regularly maintained. Several classes were repeatedly dropped, and again restored by the attachment of congregations around the Academy.

In the meantime the students naturally decreased, and at last it became necessary for me to advertise the Legislature that their grant was uselessly expended. In consequence the House of Assembly requested the Governor to appoint a visitation. When this was held the exhibition of the Kirk Trustees completely satisfied every impartial man that their aim was the destruction of the Academy. Some time after I went to Halifax to see what would be done, and found that there was a determination among some leading Dissenters in the House to open Dalhousie College. I think I mentioned years ago that this, and also my transference to that Seminary had been proposed to me by the Speaker of the Assembly. At that time I stated to him that, as he knew, the Academy had been founded by Dr. McGregor and others for the propagation of the gospel, and I would give my consent to no measure which would interfere with the original intention of the founders of the Academy. When he and other friends were, on a subsequent occasion, discussing its closing, which in deed appeared inevitable, I stated that I felt assured that though the present feelings of our clergy and their congregations might allow it to go down, it would revive,..... and that in the event of its revival I would go back to it, and toil for its interests.

On my arrival in Halifax I found that no alteration in the Trust, by removal of Trustees, or by restoring the grant to its original use, was likely to be obtained. It was therefore proposed that I, and £200 should be transferred from the Academy to Dalhousie College, and for consideration of this measure a meeting of the Governors was called. In anticipation of this, abundant applications for professorships were made, and I was requested to put in a claim. This I declined, on the ground that I would take no step which might indicate even a wish to leave the Academy. When the Government met it was inserted in their records that in the event of obtaining the

£200 I should be nominated to the Presidency. The Governors of the College at present are the Governor General, the Governor of the Province, the Bishop, the Chief Justice, the Speaker of the Assembly, the Attorney-General, and the Treasurer, but the Charter will be remodelled, and relieved from Church domination. Lord Dalhousie, and the Bishop had set their hearts upon transferring Windsor College to His Lordship's, and making it the only College in the Province.

A Bill was brought in to the Assembly to transfer the £200 upon the ground of my removal, and here commenced the ebullition of parties, in which, I believe, there was bestowed upon the friends of the Academy, and upon myself, both praise and abuse. The Bill passed the Assembly by a vote of 26 to 17. When it was sent to the Council the contest was renewed, and every possible shift was employed for its destruction. As a last resource its enemies procured its postponement till their party in Pictou should be advised of the measure. Rev. Mr. Fraser and another were sent down to plead that the Academy might be preserved as it was. Our friends in Pictou also met, and sent an agent to Halifax with a numerously signed representation, expressing their reluctance that the existing system of education should be removed from Pictou, but consenting that the £200 should be transferred, and Dalhousie College opened rather than that the province should not possess an institution such as it needed. I may mention that though Mr. F. admitted, on being cross questioned, that the Academy was inefficient, he still insisted that it should be continued in its present state. "Why do you," said the Solicitor General "wish the continuance of an institution which by your own admission, cannot in its present state, be efficient." "I look," said he, "to prospective advantage." "What advantage do you expect?" To the amusement of the audience he replied, "Man is not immortal;" that is, in other words, that I would die out, and times would get better.....

For a number of years no legislative subject has created so much interest in Halifax. During the discussion the House of Assembly and Council room were crowded to excess, and much betting on the result of the Bill ensued. By politicians the result is considered an important victory in behalf of dissenters, but it is not a victory for our Church..... As far as I am concerned in this affair, I can most conscientiously say that I have endeavored to tread in Dr. McGregor's path. I have hung on till hanging on was hopeless, and now I have to look to men not connected with our Church for the prospect of a living.....The idea of it going down has cost me some

poor prayers, and some salt tears, and at my time of life, tears are not easily found.....Dr. McGregor's mantle I never acquired, but the want of its virtues I have bitterly felt. When the floods were between me and the success of the Academy I divided no waters; they have gone over me, even unto my soul.....

Two hundred and twenty five pounds a year was my Government allowance; this was no great sum for one at the head of a literary institution, who endeavored to be the father of his pupils. Some from indifference to public interests, others from a want of common sense, or a want of hardihood to arouse their congregations, have unexpectedly driven me into the possession of a double amount of salary.....It has frequently occurred to me that my eagerness to preserve the gospel among Presbyterians might proceed from a narrowness of view not very consistent with the spirit of the gospel, and that God by his dealings is showing me what I owe, not to a section of mankind, but to the human family; how this may be I cannot decide.....For the result I must exert myself to discharge the duties of my office, and trust to an overruling Providence. Twenty years ago my vanity might have been gratified by a step higher, but now I feel a little more the worthlessness of the honour which cometh from man. I wished to remain with the Academy but my wish was hopeless. May my subsequent allotment be useful to the gospel of Christ.....

In the meantime the Academy must be reduced to something like the Academies in Scotland. In the hope that it would yet arise from its ashes, I have endeavored, as far as possible, to give it a chance. Its Charter has not been touched, and though it was proposed that its library and philosophical apparatus should be transferred to Dalhousie, they have been allowed to remain. That it will flourish at a future day I doubt not. It occupied a central position in relation to our own coast, Prince Edward Island, and Cape Breton. Already the coal of Pictou is rendering it the Newcastle of North America."

To the Rev. John Mitchell, D.D.,

Halifax, Oct. 30, 1838.

"After a long and I may add a painful pilgrimage in Pictou, I have now removed to the place of sojourning which God has given me. I have certainly reason to say, "What hath the Lord wrought?" My removal has been accompanied with so many strange circumstances that even individuals who do not often recognize the hand of Providence account it an extraordinary event. God has given me to



THE ORIGINAL DALHOUSIE COLLEGE 1820-1887

possess the gate of my enemies, he has covered for me a table in their presence, and made even those who afflicted me come bending to me. Lord Dalhousie, who for the sake of his College, hated me, built it for me. Our Bishop, in the expectation, of making it his own, was, I believe, the principal means of preventing it from going into operation till I had need of it..... The venerable Dr. McGregor and others, founded the Academy for the sake of the gospel, and I was afraid to move in a business which seemed to thwart their views. As long as there was the least prospect that the Academy could be carried on I hung by it, and when hope failed, I followed the injunction of Scripture, 'Be still, and know that I am God.' I think I wrote you before that my appointment met with furious opposition in the Legislature.

Our term in College commences on the first of next month. For my share of the business I have selected the Logic, Rhetoric, and Moral Philosophy. Another has the Latin and Greek, and a third the Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. For different reasons, I do not anticipate that we will have many students at first. It is a new thing, and the whole Province could not furnish a great number. At present also there is much dissatisfaction with the nomination to professorships; there were many applicants, and all could not be gratified.....Against Pictou other parts of the Church within the bounds of the Province have ever had a dislike, simply because its clergy and people possess more (public) spirit than others were willing to exercise. In the older congregations of Pictou the gospel has warm friends, and it is no small gratification to me that I have carried with me the affections of them all. A number of them accompanied me forty miles on my way to Halifax.

Nov. 20. We have now commenced operations in College with about a dozen of students, and more are about to join. The Governors have fitted up the College in splendid style. Our class rooms are like the rooms of a palace. The Baptist leaders have met, and have resolved to convert their Academy into a College, about fifteen miles distant from the Bishop's at Windsor. They will not succeed at least for many years, but their spirit forms a striking contrast to the treatment which the Pictou Academy received.....In Pictou it is a common remark that no man who opposed the Academy ever prospered in his deed.

To the Rev. William Kidston, D.D., Glasgow.

Halifax, Jan. 5, 1839.

"By the date of my letter you will perceive that I also

have been removed from Pictou. This event, for the sake of the gospel and Presbyterian principles, I deprecated, and as long as possible resisted; but our Bishop, and the Kirk, aided by Dr.——, would have it so. For the purpose of driving me out they fought down the Academy, and to the disappointment of all parties, the Legislature has placed me at what I may fairly term the head of our provincial education..... Before all this occurred you may be sure there was abundant opposition. I was lampooned and hunted down in the Legislature, and out of it, in every possible way..... The whole was effected without my interference. When others in all directions were applying for situations in the College, I refused to put in a claim, and received my appointment solely by the public voice. The truth is, the Academy was founded for the sake of the Gospel, and I did not dare to take a single step that might seem to separate me from its interests..... The congregations around the Academy have been its unflinching friends. Before leaving Pictou I suggested to the leading men in most of our congregations its importance for the preservation of the gospel among them. In consequence, delegates from them all met, and sent missionaries through the Church for the purpose of arousing the remote congregations. Everywhere these were well received by the people, and I hope the Academy will again flourish. I have the satisfaction of carrying with me the perfect confidence of the congregations around it. But then I have through a long series of years grown up the acquaintance or friend of many of our leading politicians, and though my small influence with them has ever been used for the advancement of measures which promoted the interests of dissenters, some of my brethren allowed their minds, I believe, to dwell more upon the rank of those with whom I occasionally associated, than upon the benefit done to themselves, and their congregations. Such is human nature."

To the Rev. John Mitchell, D.D.,

Halifax, May 26, 1839.

Our College is moving on very quietly, and though at present it has opposition from the Church of England, and other quarters, it must, from its location, and other advantages, be the leading Seminary of the Province. As for myself, I meddle with nobody and nobody now ventures to meddle with me. I did not wish to be in Halifax; years ago I earnestly warned our Synod against it, but they were asleep to their own interests..... The Academy, I trust, will yet revive; its friends

are as warm as ever. A gentleman belonging to one of our smallest congregations in Pictou has just informed me that this year it will raise £50 to assist in paying off the debt.

It was the general wish, and the Academy having failed, it was Dr. McCulloch's wish, that in the spirit of Lord Dalhousie's plan, his College should be started on the broadest possible basis, as a Protestant institution, without tests of any kind. This was essential in order to enlist the sympathy, and attract the support of all denominations. But influences were at work destined to render the College a failure, and to originate denominational institutions. Acadia College was a consequence pure and simple of the rejection of Dr. Crawley's claim to a professorship. The Presbyterian Seminary at Truro, while the result of necessity, was owned by men of enlarged views, men who were prepared to sink their denominational efforts in the provision of such a Provincial Institution as would by its character command respect. It was to the surprise and disappointment of many that Dr. Crawley was not chosen, and by Dr. McCulloch it was considered a most unfortunate step, as giving to the Institution the very character against which he was anxious to guard it, alienating those who were desirous to see it prosper, and making enemies where it might have had the friendship of almost the entire Province. Political, as well as other influences, led to the rejection of Dr. Crawley, and to the election of two ministers of the Kirk, Messrs Alex Romans, and James McIntosh. Lord Dalhousie's plan was to model after the University of Edinburgh, where the law only recognized ministers of the Established Church.

Had his Lordship anticipated the tinkering to which his College was to be subjected, it is more than probable that it would never have existed. The first list of temporary Trustees indicated a want of sympathy with those for whom he had stated at the opening of the Institution that he was anxious to provide—non-Episcopalians. By the very term of his address he had thrown down the gauntlet to Windsor. His first Trustees were not only largely officials, but also Episcopalians; so with the second Board. Under the Royal

Seal, a new Trust was constituted in 1842, more likely, had it been in their power, to govern with success.

That the revival of the College excited no enthusiasm was largely owing to the appointments made. That the acting Governors were not satisfied with the mode of its revival was well known, and this feeling was shared by some leading politicians. Yet the latter were not free to act; there was a power behind the throne to which they were forced to yield, and having yielded, they left the thing to itself, except in the way of annoyance. Whatever claim Dr. McCulloch had as an educationist, he soon found himself unequally yoked in organizing successfully an Institution regarded as the future University of the Province. He had undertaken a task with the element of failure in its constitution. This soon became apparent to him and was not long unobserved by the public. The declared object of reviving the College was the promotion of higher education, but in the demands of political strife officials had no hesitation in making it the stepping stone for the advancement of purely party interests.

The position of the Roman Catholics in relation to the different parties was becoming a matter of importance and much scheming. It was believed that whichever party they inclined to would hold the day, and as it was well known that whoever bid highest would succeed, it became a question with what to bait the political hook. It was imagined that the Roman Catholics were anxious to obtain influence on the education of the Province, and here were the means to hand by setting apart a chair for them in Dalhousie College. The plan was no doubt suggested to the R. C. Bishop, and discussed by the Governors, (though I have understood that no minute of procedure is to be found,) and the offer made to the Rev. Mr. O'Brien. It was a startling proposal, at variance with the declared intention of Lord Dalhousie, and by the Charter illegal, but in the hands of a body controlled by Mr. Howe, these objections, it was supposed, could be easily set aside. But even Mr. Howe was unwilling to face Dr. McCulloch with the proposal. G. R. Young, Esq., counting upon his intimacy, agreed to call upon him, which he did at the College.

After beating about the bush for some time he stated that there had been a meeting of the Governors, and as no question was asked Mr. Young came out with the whole story of their action. Finding that he was there to ascertain his mind, Dr. McCulloch said: "Please say to the Governors that the College is theirs, to do with as they deem best, but that when Mr. O'Brien comes in at one door, I go out at the other."

While there were those among the governors who were pleased with the reply, though they lacked moral courage to oppose Mr. Howe, there were others who were deeply mortified. Mr. Howe was perhaps surprised to find that the author of "Popery condemned," was not ready to lay the higher education of the Province at the feet of a Romish priest! For the time Dr. McCulloch was left undisturbed, and some other way was found of gaining the Roman Catholic influence.

That the College was not giving satisfaction was well known, and to none better than to its President. He never had the generous confidence of the Governors, not to say of the Lieut. Governor. There was kept up to the end of his life a system of fault finding on matters altogether apart from his supervision, and demands were made upon him to interfere to rectify abuses, the reforming of which formed part of the Governors' own duty, and which were brought to him either from lack of moral courage, or for the purpose of worrying him into taking up a position that would place him at their mercy. He occupied both a painful and a delicate position in reference to his duty to the Governors, and his denominational relations to the other professors as representatives of the Kirk party. These failed to bring to their work the public confidence, and beyond the class routine, they seemed to have little interest in, or responsibility for, the success of the College.

The Governors had made a change in the management, and instead of two terms in the year, had thrown the teaching into one, leaving students five months of idleness, to the dissatisfaction of those who were inclined to avail themselves of the benefits of the College; while the public estimate of some of the Professors deprived them of that influence so necessary

to maintain the dignity and efficiency of their position. Beside all this there were elements at work that led to something more than a supposition that in the case of some of the Governors there was a deliberate effort to render the College a failure.

In the year 1839 Dr. McCulloch supplied the pulpit of the Granville Street Baptist Church for some weeks. In appreciation of his services he was presented by the congregation with an address, and several volumes of the works of Rev. Robert Hall.

To the Rev. Thomas Trotter, Antigonish.

Halifax, Dec. 22, 1840.

The establishment of a Church in our connection in this City has an important bearing not only upon the diffusion of the gospel, but also upon the respectability of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia. To a certain extent it would also prove a safeguard to religion in every section. This city is the resort of individuals from all our congregations, and though those individuals not infrequently return home with accounts of the irreligion of Halifax, they do not always reflect upon the tarnish which they themselves may have received from the profanity of boarding houses on the Lord's day, not counteracted by the labors of a faithful minister of their own connection, with whom they could associate for the public worship of God..... Since you cannot visit us, I must again place before you a view of our situation here.

In this city there is unquestionably an excellent opening for an acceptable Presbyterian minister, but I do not believe that a single Presbyterian will leave his connection till he sees a fair prospect that he will not be necessitated to return. We allowed them formerly to be subjected to this mortification through our ill management which they have not yet forgotten. At present therefore, to commence a congregation, there are as follows: Mr. Hunter, a grocer, who I believe is in affluent circumstances; Mr. Knight, a saddler, having a respectable business, and willing to be as liberal as his circumstances permit; Mr. Robson our deceased friend's son, who has recently commenced business; Mr. McDonald, who has little in his power, and lastly, myself, willing to go beyond my ability for the sake of the gospel, and my family. In addition to the above there are perhaps an equal number of tradesmen in ordinary circumstances who might be induced to unite with us, and these are all upon whom we can at present calculate. In the next place we possess no place of worship.

At present we can, during the afternoon and evening, obtain a very respectable church for £20 a year, occupied in the forenoon as a garrison chapel. If we had an acceptable preacher and a prospect of permanence, I have little doubt that money could be borrowed to assist us in building, but, at six per cent, this itself would prove no light burden. Again were a clergyman to come to us from Britain, as an unmarried man he could not live in a house of his own upon less than £150 a year. Looking then at our numbers and circumstances is it rational that we should invite any young man from that quarter to cast in his lot among us? You have suggested the idea of me taking the charge of the congregation here, but have added, that in my situation you would not. I perfectly agree with you. Not only does my health not permit, but in other respects it would be imprudent. Beside, I have got into the frosty season of life, and am of course not at all calculated for a station where a congregation must be gathered..... When I mention yourself and others as giving us each a couple of Sabbaths, they must be understood as given without remuneration. Between paying the expense of travelling, board in town, church rent, and other items, our outlay would be from three to four pounds a week, and really in our present circumstances, I do not see how this amount could be met without assistance from your missionary fund at our commencement. Afterward, with good preaching, I have no doubt that we would succeed moderately well. Could we furnish ample remuneration, we would do it with great pleasure. If anything is to be done for Halifax various considerations suggest that there must be prompt measures. At present the prospect is excellent, but it may soon bear a very different aspect.

In 1841 he wrote to Professor Mitchell of what was his last literary effort.

"I have been studying with as much care as possible the doctrine of our Lord's divinity, and if I publish at all I shall now do it under the appellation of 'A Scriptural view of the person and doctrine of Christ.' In the meantime I wish to review what I have written." The MS. of this work having been later sent to Professor M. he replies in June 1843: "I had it read to me with much care, and cannot but say that the argument for the divinity of Christ, though on a topic which has been frequently handled, seems to me to be discussed in a manner so admirably ingenious and conclusive, that I do not remember to have read any treatise so new, as well as so entirely satisfactory, and I should be extremely sorry, especially

in these times of rampant error and infidelity, if the public and Christian religion were deprived of the benefits of it by your declining to publish. Print it, I beseech you."

Death, coming so soon after, cut short any purpose he might have had in this direction.

In July 1841 he wrote as follows to James Mitchell Esq. "I cannot but feel the kindly interest and trouble which you have taken about my visit. No other earthly journey could give me so much pleasure, but for this season I fear it must be postponed. Were I to say to my friend, Mr. Cunard, 'I cannot pay my way,' I have little doubt that he would say as the committee in Glasgow have said. When I was persecuted by the Council he sent me money which I returned, at the same time assuring him that when I needed I would apply to him."

In the summer of 1842 the hoped for visit was made, and intercourse renewed with the few relatives and friends whom the lapse of time had left him, but these were so few, and Church and social changes so many, that while feeling all his affection for the place of his fathers' sepulchres, he yet realized the experience of others long away from the scenes of youth,—that this was not home,—and after seeing and hearing all that was of interest, there arose a desire to be gone.

(On his return voyage he was accompanied by the youngest daughter of his brother Andrew, who on Oct. 20th of the same year was married in Halifax to the Rev. William McCulloch of Truro.)—Eds.

CHAPTER XVII.

Closing Days—Last Illness—Death.

Previous to his departure for Britain the Governors of the College had addressed the Principal thus: Being desirous to obtain as full and accurate information as possible on all subjects touching on the interests of the Institution, we have to request a particular and detailed account of the number of students who have actually attended your lectures since your appointment to office; their names and ages; the periods during which they have severally attended; the course of study; the time actually employed in study; the time employed in your collegiate duties; the length of the vacation; the titles of the text books made use of. We have the matriculation and record books, but are desirous of more specific information than they afford. Signed: Alex. Stewart, W. Young, Chas. Twining, James F. Gray, R. Black.

To this request he sent the following reply, addressed to the Hon. Alex. Stewart.

Halifax, July 20th, 1842

Sir.

In replying to the letter addressed to me by the Committee of which you are chairman, I must begin by expressing my regret that a scientific excursion into different parts of the country should have prevented me from affording it a more early attention. The Committee have requested a particular and detailed account of the number of students who have attended my lectures; the periods during which they have severally attended; and their names, ages, and course of studies. Upon these points I have taken no private notes, but the requisite information will be found in the matriculation books, which the Committee's letter states to be in their possession. The College, having been conformed to the model of the Scotch Universities, has had only one annual session of seven months. The plan for the arrangement of the hours of attendance upon the several classes will be found among the papers of the College. For text books in the classes under my charge, I use my own outlines, which every student copies; and along with these each, according to the stage of his progress, is required to

furnish himself with Abercromby on the Intellectual powers, Murray's Grammar and Exercises, and Abercromby on the Moral powers. In the letter of the Committee it is stated, that they are desirous of obtaining as full and accurate information as possible upon all subjects having a bearing upon the interests of the Institution. Upon this suggestion I would observe, that not being aware of the particular topics upon which information is needed, I feel reluctant to offer any opinion respecting the interests of the College; and would therefore respectfully bring under the notice of the Committee, whether their views might not be forwarded by proposing to me a series of questions, which might be answered either by writing or by personal communication."

I have the honour to be
your most obedt. servt.,
Thomas McCulloch.

On the first of August, James Liddell Esq., by command of the Governor, writes him, "It is the wish of His Excellency that you should before leaving the Province answer the queries submitted to you in regard to Dalhousie College, by the Committee of the Board of Governors." What the nature of the queries, and the result of this demand has not been ascertained, but no action or change seems to have taken place.

On his return he resumed his work, and it would appear that nothing more was heard of the matter, but his foes were not inactive. No more than the Pictou party were they satisfied while 'Mordecai sat in the King's gate.' The old cry of inefficiency was raised, which naturally led to the question of expense. Under the plea of consulting the interests of the College, the idea of economizing was suggested; and as to the means, the President's salary, being the largest, came up for discussion. Its curtailment, being proposed by Mr. Howe, met with the approval of the Board. No record may be left of this transaction, but for Mr. Howe's share in it our authority is the name of a man than whom none in the province stood higher for integrity,—the Hon. Herbert Huntington. While on the way to preach in Dartmouth, Dr. McCulloch met Messrs. Howe and Huntington, and while he was conversing with Mr. Howe, his son Thomas was informed by Mr. Huntington of

the plan to reduce his salary. Ere the scheme was ripe for execution, death gave the rest which men denied.

From the time of his removal to Halifax till his death the summer holidays were occupied in making excursions to different places, preaching as he had opportunity, and indulging his taste for scientific investigation. He spent some time on Sable Island, and in company with one of his old pupils, the late Sir A. G. Archibald, examined the surroundings of the Bay of Fundy.

The following extracts are from letters written to Mr. James Mitchell in 1841.

"For several years Thomas, for the sake of his health, has been persuaded to work upon a museum for this city. (Not to be behind our neighbours, we Halifax bodies have just got ourselves incorporated). By means of friends a grant of £250 was passed to enable us to collect whatever belongs to the province, but old political grudges are at work, and whether we may obtain it is still uncertain. Neither Thomas nor I are easily put down, and we have been laboring like slaves upon the business. He has been traversing the province in one direction, and I in another. A few days ago I returned from a four weeks excursion, and tomorrow I again sail in a Government vessel to scour the coast. None in the province can manage the business scientifically except ourselves, and our object is by our exertions to render the disposal of the grant in any other channel impracticable. Those who are hostile to us contrived that the grant was left at the disposal of the Governor, and they have been earnestly recommending that a part of it at least should be expended upon the purchase of birds from a stuffer here who does not profess to know anything of Natural History. I expect that by the aid of friends the affair will be so managed that if we cannot get the grant it will remain unexpended till the Legislature again meet. In the meantime we are straining every nerve to make our collection as extensive and splendid as possible. It would oblige me exceedingly if when the season commences you could procure from your shooting friends or by purchase, specimens of the different game, or the peesewep, or almost any other British birds, great or small."

"About the birds I would observe that if our design succeeds we will extend our collection to British ornithology as far as possible, but in the meantime we must limit our wishes

to a few, such as a pair of partridges, moor fowl, pyets, and peeseweeps. If an owl, a hawk, or a whaup can be got, they may be added. As for pheasants I do not know that they could be packed without injury to the tail, and black cock, or ptarmigan, you could not perhaps procure without more trouble than I would wish you to take. If you know any private collector let him know that we will exchange with him as far as possible quadrupeds, birds, insects, minerals, shells, organic remains, etc. It is the besetting sin of all collectors that they wish to get without giving, but if you can find about Glasgow any collector, or society, willing to correspond with us, we will be as conscientious as a collector can be expected to be. In birds in particular we can undertake a great deal."

On his return from one of these excursions he assisted the writer at the dispensation of the Lord's supper. He addressed the congregation from the words, "See that ye fall not out by the way." Two of the elders of the congregation who had been under suspension were restored at this time, but of this he was in ignorance. His words were sharp, but most kindly spoken. As we returned home he was told how matters stood, when he enquired if his sermon were likely to do harm. Next day meeting one of the contending brethren, he said to me, "that was the best sermon I ever heard." That was his last visit to Truro.

Whenever and wherever he had the opportunity it was to him, as to the writer now, a pleasure to return to the old work of preaching Christ. The last service he ever performed was at Cornwallis, where he visited the Rev. Wm. Somerville, Cameronian minister, and assisted him at the Communion.

In the Autumn of 1843, after returning to Halifax from the Western part of the Province, he was seized with influenza which at first, excited no alarm. On the Monday after his attack he was in his place, and for two hours lectured in Logic, and Moral Philosophy, returning quite exhausted. His trouble increased as the week went on, and he never again met his classes. The end came on the 9th of September.

The following account of his last illness was written to Professor Mitchell by his son Thomas:

Halifax, Oct. 12, 1843.

Of the various duties which have resulted from our late

sad and unexpected bereavement I have found that the communication of the event to my father's friends is far from being the least painful. This has been the case most especially with reference to yourself, whom he always regarded as his oldest and dearest friend.....From the severe and protracted illness with which my father was attacked last winter he recovered but very slowly. With the return of warm weather, and release from his duties in the College, he gradually regained his ordinary health, and was able almost daily to take those short excursions to the neighboring woods in which he so much delighted.

In July he attended the meeting of Synod at Pictou, which was characterized by unusual harmony, and upon his return spent some time with my brother in Truro. By a new arrangement the College was to be opened a month earlier than it had been previously. With the view therefore of confirming his reestablished health, and of gratifying his taste for mineralogy, in which of late years he took much interest, he proposed spending the remainder of the vacation in a tour in the western part of the province.

After an absence of some weeks, during which I believe he always preached twice upon the Sabbath and sometimes upon a week day, he returned highly gratified with his visit, and apparently in his ordinary health. My mother had been intending to make a short visit to Pictou, but various circumstances interfered with repeated arrangements, and she did not set out until my father returned, when I drove her to Truro. I returned upon Saturday night, and was informed by my sister Isabella that my father had not been well, and had on the previous day spent his time chiefly upon the sofa. Upon entering his room I found him writing, being busily employed in correcting the preface to those theological lectures which have so long engaged his attention. Upon Sabbath morning he took but little breakfast, and contrary to my expectations, and urgent entreaties, he prepared to attend public worship. Immediately after dinner he retired to his room, and at tea he spoke of attending service again. I remonstrated still more warmly, but as he felt no inconvenience from being out in the morning, he determined to attend again. For some months past our church had been endeavoring to reestablish the Secession Congregation here, and in this my father took the deepest interest. At this time from a variety of circumstances to which I shall not allude, the attendance had become very small; consequently he felt more anxious about the success

of the attempt. With the young preacher too, Mr. John Cameron, the last licensed of his students, who was officiating here at the time he was much pleased. With the services upon this Sabbath morning particularly he expressed himself much gratified, and this, I believe, was one strong inducement to attend in the evening. On Monday the classes were opened, and after lecturing he came home apparently much exhausted. After dinner he lay down, and rose so much refreshed that he took a short walk, and called upon two or three friends. During the evening I was with him occasionally,..... but I did not disturb him, as he appeared while lying in his easy chair to be absorbed in meditation, entirely unconnected, it seemed to me, with the subject of his ordinary studies. On the following morning he did not seem disposed to rise until the regular hour of his attendance at the College had passed. About eleven he came down stairs and lay upon the sofa in his study during the day; toward evening I assisted him to his room. When particularly engaged in his private devotions my father sometimes unconsciously prayed aloud, and while sitting in the room below the one which he occupied, I became aware from this circumstance that he was unusually urgent in his requests.....Throughout his sickness there was a strange indifference, if not reluctance, to almost everything proposed which I had never witnessed him exhibit to anything like the same extent....I sent for Dr. Gregor, the medical gentleman who ever since we have been in Halifax has attended my father and mother with the affection of a son. He mentioned to me that my father exhibited some symptoms of typhus, but that at his time of life he did not think they would amount to anything. While the doctor was present he was very cheerful, and seemed a good deal amused while speaking with him of a letter which Mr. Trotter had written impugning some views respecting the eldership which he had advanced at the late meeting of Synod..... During the next day he continued easy and tranquil, and seemed desirous of being left undisturbed. As far therefore as the doctor's directions would permit, I complied with his wishes, refraining even from those questions which anxiety and affection alike prompted. While sitting beside him I observed that he was engaged at intervals in deep meditation, and often in silent prayer. About eleven at night the doctor was with him, and when I went out with him he informed me that he had never seen my father so low. He would not consent that either of us should sit up; to relieve him therefore from uneasiness on this point I lay down and watched him. At four on Saturday

morning I was at his bedside; he told me that he was quite easy, and free from pain, and in a few minutes he relapsed into the same quiet sleep from which he had just been aroused, and slept so calmly for some hours that I flattered myself with the idea that he must be recovering, and felt almost sorry that my mother had been sent for. About nine o'clock on Saturday morning he sat up and was shaved, and after resting a little he requested me to call my sister and aunt to prayers. When they entered the room he raised himself, upon his elbow, and acknowledged God's goodness, to himself particularly in sparing him to another day, but when he came to supplicate for the absent members of the family his voice failed, and he sank down overwhelmed upon the pillow.About eight in the evening he insisted upon rising and was helped into his chair.While I was arranging the pillows he suddenly raised himself up, and gave me a long long look which time can never obliterate from my mind, and relapsed into one of his previous fainting turns. A considerable time elapsed before he revived. A friend assisted me to remove him to bed. In a short time he asked to be raised, but he was scarcely in my arms before he expressed a wish to lie down, the last request he ever uttered. The friend who was with us assured us he was dying, and hastened to inform the doctor, but I could not realize it.....While lying in this posture he raised his left hand, and pointed steadily upward for about two minutes, but though sensible, the power of utterance was gone. By this time Mr. Cameron had come into the room, and engaged in prayer.

During the few bewildering minutes which followed I had my left hand upon my father's neck, and his right hand which was drawn up near his face, was clasped in mine. As the sound of the evening gun fell upon the ear Mr. Cameron stopped praying, and I felt my father's last breath pass gently over my hand.....You know what we have lost, and can readily conceive the nature of our feelings at such a moment. When I had laid my hands upon his eyes, and sat down beside his remains, had the whole world sunk from beneath my feet I could not have felt more utterly desolate. The countenance of my father after death exhibited an expression of perfect satisfaction of which words cannot convey any idea. It seemed as if the spirit in passing away had left upon the features the impress of its own feelings, strongly reminding the spectator of the declaration, "I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with Thy likeness."

CHAPTER XVIII

Burial—Dedication of Monument.

The remains of Dr. McCulloch were removed to Pictou, and lie in the old graveyard, where so many of the forefathers of the hamlet sleep.

Through the efforts of the Rev. George Christie, one of his students, a handsome monument marks the spot, where he rests. On July 4th, 1867, after the meeting of Synod in New Glasgow, a number of the members assembled at the grave and, with prayer by Mr. Christie, and an address by the Rev. J. L. Murdoch, consecrated the monument, leaving it to the care of the future, as a memorial of one who laid his life upon the altar of his adopted country.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY REV. J. L. MURDOCH, M. A.

"We dedicate this stone to the memory of one whose character as a man, a philanthropist, and a Christian, we greatly revered. To him we acknowledge a debt of deepest gratitude, inasmuch as to him we are indebted for that intellectual and moral training which has qualified us to fill our respective positions in society.

This monument will stand not only as a testimony to future generations of the pious regard with which the memory of the departed was cherished by the Alumni of the college over which he presided; but the venerated name thereon inscribed will maintain an historic interest of a wider range—intimately associated as it must ever be with many of the most important interests of the Province.

Of his personal and social qualities we retain the most grateful remembrance. Of his qualifications for directing the education of the young men under his charge, and the success of his labours, the evidence is still visible in the lives and social position of many who had the privilege of receiving his instructions.

Dr. McCulloch landed in Nova Scotia in the fall of 1803. Our Province was then an almost unbroken wilderness. The inhabitants were few and widely scattered; and the means of religious instruction were as a matter of course very insufficient. The opportunities for secular education were also extremely limited. Common schools were rare, and the teachers in most cases very incompetent. There was only one College in the

Province, and this at the time was both denominational and exclusive. In view of these things, Dr. McCulloch laboured to arouse the people to a sense of their situation, and to stir them up to such efforts as might secure to the young men of the Province the blessing of a liberal education. There were however so many difficulties in the way that most of those who acknowledged the necessity rather chose to bear the evil than encounter the difficulties which were felt to exist. There were some however who listened to the animating and encouraging voice which invited them to go forward; and supported by these, Dr. McCulloch laboured in the midst of many discouragements until he had the satisfaction of seeing in Pictou a collegiate institution suited to the wants of the country. Its doors were opened to all who desired to enter, irrespective of denominational preferences. The Principal of the institution only required that God should be honoured, and his laws respected by those who sought to be enrolled as alumni.

The first step toward the object contemplated was the opening of a Grammar School in 1811. As there were then no suitable buildings, in the fall of this year a log school house was built for the accommodation of the pupils. This building was burnt down. (Some said by an incendiary). The people however, soon erected another, and more commodious one.

In the year 1817 the subject of collegiate education began to engage attention. It was brought before the Synod of which Dr. McCulloch was a member, and warmly supported by his brethren of the Pictou Presbytery. The result was that the Synod agreed to raise subscriptions for the erection of a college in Pictou.

The number of young men who first entered as regular students was over 20. And it was not long before the fame of the college (or as it was afterwards called the "Pictou Academy") extended over the whole Province, and even to places further distant. The number of students increased, and Dr. McCulloch began to take that high place in the esteem of men of letters and philanthropists, which real merit alone can command. The college founded in Pictou however had its enemies, who endeavoured to destroy it; and it had to contend with poverty, arising in part from the caprice of politicians, and partly from the indifference of professed friends. And we, while calling to mind the virtues of the deceased, to whose memory we dedicate this monument, deem it our duty to make mention of the self-denial which he displayed in continuing to labour early and late, and in the face of vexations opposition, actuated by a noble and holy desire to train up the young of the

country for usefulness in the different situations that they might afterwards occupy.

For reasons which we need not now dwell upon, the Pictou Academy ultimately became so crippled that its friends were discouraged, and in 1838 Dr. McCulloch received the appointment of President of Dalhousie College, Halifax, where he laboured during the remainder of his life. He was not long spared however to occupy that important station. On the 4th of September 1843 he met his classes for the last time. On the evening of that day he was seized with the sickness of which he died on (the 9th of September) the day indicated by this stone.

While the whole of our Province has received benefits from the labours of Dr. McCulloch and therefore owes to his memory a debt of gratitude, this is emphatically true of the Church with which he was connected—the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia. The title S. T. P. (Professor of Sacred Theology) reminds us of his earnest and indefatigable labours in training up a band of men who might occupy the place of watchman on the walls of Zion. Time does not permit an extended review of his labours in this department. But we feel sure that none will question the assertion that he did more for the promotion of the general interest in the Church just named than any man in Nova Scotia—and therefore we claim that his name should be embalmed in the memory of her sons as it is here engraved on the stone which we this day dedicate to his memory.”—Presbyterian Witness.

The following is the inscription upon the monument:

IN
MEMORIAM REVERENDISSIMI
ET HUMANISSIMI
THOMAE MACCULLOCH
D. D. S. T. P.
HOC MONUMENTUM
PONENDUM CURAVERUNT
ALUMNI GRATI DESIDERANTES

OBIIT
IX. SEP. MDCCCXLIII
AET LXVII.



GRAVE OF DR. McCULLOCH
From a photograph taken July 4th, 1867

Rev. James Thomson.	Rev. George Christie
Rev. George Patterson, D.D.	Rev. John Campbell
Rev. John Cameron	Rev. J. L. Murdoch, M.A.
Rev. P. G. McGregor, D.D.	

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE FIRST THEOLOGICAL CLASS IN THE PICTOU ACADEMY.

By THOMAS McCULLOCH, D. D.*

(Reprinted, by request, from *The Christian Recorder*, published in Glasgow, Scotland, May, 1821)

Editor Advocate:

Enclosed please find the "Christian Recorder" of May, 1821, which contains a lecture delivered by Thos. McCulloch, D. D., within the large east room of Pictou Academy. I would not willingly see it consigned to oblivion as it embodies solidity of construction with the most intimate knowledge of the books now more commonly known as the Bible. It will be cherished reading to many of your patrons at home and abroad, some of whom were personally acquainted with him during the time he filled the theological chair, witnessing the best evidences of his success and receiving the high confidence and honors of the evangelical church. His lectures were attended with a zeal rarely known, and many ministers went out from his care qualified to rise in the church and command an influence which time has not taken away. He sought the elevation of Pictou Academy and right nobly defended its rights, enlarged its privileges,

*The Presbyterian College, of Pictou, Nova Scotia, was instituted about two years ago. The public owe its erection chiefly to the zeal of the late Edward Mortimer, Esq., member of the Provincial Legislature, and to the exertions of the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, Minister of that place. The measure was at first keenly opposed by the old Episcopalian Establishment of Windsor; but, through the liberality of the Governor and Council, and a decided majority in the Senate, it was carried triumphantly, and obtained readily the sanction of the Government at home. From the slender revenue of the colony, two grants of money have been voted; the one of 500, with which suitable buildings have been reared; and the other of £400 to meet other exigencies, especially to furnish a Library, and to provide an Apparatus for the Physical Class. Such is the rising celebrity of the College, that the last grant was passed almost by acclamation, and with the cordial approbation of several who had from the beginning opposed its erection. Indeed, never perhaps was there a seminary, which so soon gained the confidence of the public, or, with means so slender, produced an education so extensive and efficient. Dr. McCulloch, whatever occasional assistance he may derive from others, has only one permanent colleague, the Rev. Mr. M'Kinley, who acts as classical tutor. With his aid, and under the superintendence of Dr. M'ulloch, who teaches the higher classes, the College has exceeded the most sanguine expectation of its friends, has acquired a decided ascendancy, and promises to prove of incalculable advantage to the new settlement; to the interests of literature and religion there; and to the United Secession Church, of which both these gentlemen are members.

Dr. M'ulloch, it may not be improper to add, affords a striking instance of the powerful influence of external circumstances, upon the development and display of talent. Once, he held a charge in this country; but his situation was unfavourable, and his abilities were not sufficiently excited, nor was his worth known except to comparatively a few. Having passed over to Nova Scotia, circumstances occurred to call forth his powers into strenuous exercises; on a new and wider theatre they found fresh motives, as well as room to expand themselves; his character rose high in public estimation; and, by several works of acknowledged ability and learning, in which he stood forth the triumphant advocate of the Protestant faith, of a liberal system of education, and of the rights of his Presbyterian brethren,—he has acquired the highest celebrity, occupies the first literary rank in the province, and enjoys a commanding influence, of which he avails himself for the public good.

and advocated its interests through all the "troubled times." Fondness for teaching, well-known scholarship and a remarkable talent for imparting knowledge, indicated him as the man to lead the forlorn hope in an institution of learning where the nauseating "test oath" was foreign to the sacred soil of religious liberty, wherein no man's faith is derided. Now from that little oasis we can point with pardonable pride to her rapid advance and successful work in the Master's vineyard. Then fulness of our heart goes out unto her in the unobliteration of her sacred landmarks, and as the direct successor of Christ and His Apostles in this our earthly home.

"Old-timer."

Gentlemen,— Though you have already completed your academical course, your selection of the clerical office requires you to be, for an additional period, connected with this Institution, and under my charge. It becomes, then, our duty conjointly, to render this connection subservient to preparation for your professional employment; and, upon my part, I trust, that, as far as I can assist you to improve, you will experience no difficulty of co-operation. From sentiments of personal regard, I feel an earnest desire for your success and respectability in life. Influenced, also, by the confidence which the Trustees of this Seminary and the Synod of the Presbyterian Church, have reposed in me, I am not without anxiety that your improvement may correspond with the expectations of both; and that your public appearance in society may be honorable to the Institution, and worthy of the Church. As an introduction, therefore, to that theological course upon which you are about to enter, I beg leave to make a few general remarks, connected with your choice of office and your professional studies.

Than a well qualified and successful minister of Christ, I do not know in society a character more important and honorable. Invested with an office which embraces the honor of the Deity, and the best interests of the human race, the glorious results of his labours will continue to reflect a glory upon his name when the splendours of riches and of ranks in society are shrouded in darkness. In a secular point of view, indeed, the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia presents few inducements to engage in its service. Its immediate prospects are toil with little remuneration; and, in the estimation of those who measure respectability by worldly acquisitions, very little honour. Still, however, it presents much to gratify the mind of a successful preacher of the gospel. His sources of intellectual enjoyment are not few: the purest pleasure, the pleasure of doing good, attends him in the meantime; and his anticipation of the

future have none of those uneasy forebodings, which in the contemplation of vicissitudes, a mind laying its foundation in the dust, unavoidably feels. His recollections of his labours of love, blend themselves with a period, in which, "they that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever."

Let me remind you, however, that the mere possession of office confers neither dignity of character nor rational enjoyment. In the clerical office, in particular, these belong only to the man whose deportment proves him to be the minister of Christ; who performs with fidelity the duties of his station; and, as a teacher of religion, exemplifies its influence by a pattern of godliness. Of all fools who are exalted to honour, there is none more despicable than a pretender to religion, detailing his miserable conceptions under the guise of instruction, or inculcating duties which his life denies.

As candidates for the ministerial office, your success requires a variety of qualifications; the acquisition of these must now engross your attention; and how they may be best attained has been to me the subject of much anxious thought. I can easily perceive, that your theological education is likely to prove extensive in its influence. As a part of personal improvement it will affect your reputation in life, and the character of this Institution; and those views of religion which you may acquire, considered as the basis of public instruction in the church, will give a direction to the minds of its members, which must influence their conduct and hopes. You will prove, I trust, the first fruits of an abundant harvest of public teachers to the Presbyterian Church; and, in this point of view, you will probably give a tone to the character of those who succeed you in education, and become your associates in the ministerial office: and I earnestly wish, that, when you leave this seminary to be entrusted with what is most valuable to the community as men and as immortal beings, your previous improvement may become the basis of a discharge of duty, which will meet the solemn responsibility of such a weighty charge.

Permit me then to observe, that, in your present situation, correct views of the nature and design of the ministerial office are exceedingly important. Your sentiments upon these points must, in the meantime, have a practical influence upon your studies and habits; and afterward, in public life, inaccurate conceptions will frustrate your plans of benevolence, and render your labours abortive. Upon the clerical office in general, and as it ought to be exercised in the church to which you belong, I, therefore, beg leave to suggest to you the following remarks.

The duties of a Christian minister refer to human beings, as subjected to intellectual defects and moral inabilities; as exposed to the temptations, vices, and afflictions of life. In these respects, they need the instruction which improves the various capacities of the mind, and renders its acquirements subservient to pure morality; they need the instruction which meets human adversity with the cheering prospect of hope and enjoyment. The Christian minister is an agent of the Deity for illustrating the glory of his character as the repairer of that ruin which transgression has introduced into his works. He is the active means of divine appointment, for conferring heaven's best gifts upon our fallen family, for assimilating man to his creator, and conducting him to the joys and services of a happier state. As entrusted with the religious interests of the community, therefore, you ought to be qualified to rear, upon the basis of knowledge, a structure of rectitude which will embrace the whole range of moral obligation; which will neither exclude devotional piety, nor the diversified duties of social life. None of you, I hope, will ever encourage any system of religious opinions which indulges ignorance or inattention to duty; which either permits knowledge to terminate in speculation, or cherishes activity uncombined with intelligence.

Your knowledge of human nature will enable you to perceive, that he who enters into the ministerial office undertakes an arduous task. The seeds of religion fall upon an ungrateful soil, they shoot feebly, and advance slowly to the harvest; and the harvest, with all the cultivation which you are able to bestow, will not, in every case, accord with your desires and expectations. The interest of men's souls, therefore, are not a fit subject for divided attention. On this account, I would advise you to consider ministerial duties as about to become your sole occupation. Those who followed Christ forsook all for his service; and you may rest assured, that, should you ever expend the energies of your mind upon other pursuits, you will have reason to be dissatisfied with both the nature and result of your official duties. Upon this topic, the present state of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, requires me to make a few additional remarks.

As yet, the Presbyterian clergy of this province have usually derived a part of their subsistence from farming, or from the education of youth. This, perhaps, at a former period, could not be avoided. They were then merely forming the church, by the instruction of those who possessed little ability or disposition to afford them an adequate support: and to promote the interests of religion, they endured their full share of

those toils and privations which usually attend the formation of churches. The labours of the first ministers of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, present an admirable pattern of apostolic exertion and endurance for the sake of the gospel. With minds polished by a liberal education, and formed for the abundant literary enjoyments of their native lands, that the name of our Lord Jesus Christ might be glorified in the salvation of those who dwelt solitarily in the woods, they forsook all, and embraced a life of hardship and pain. Of these, duty and affection require me to specify one—the Rev. James McGregor,—as more abundant than others in both the labours and afflictions of the gospel. To his love for religion, and enterprising exertions, the Presbyterian Church in this part of the world principally owes its respectability and enlargement; and his unre-mitted attention to the interests of this seminary, is now fixing the church upon a permanent basis. I know no man upon earth, whom I would sooner propose to you, as a pattern of apostolic zeal and activity, or as an example, that religion, even in the present life, dispenses rich and enviable rewards. Subjected to the privations of a missionary life, and unaided by such resources as christian co-operation has now provided for missionary wants; with the glad tidings of salvation, he traversed these provinces in their rudest forms; and now, he is gladdened with consolations which few can ever attain. He knows that his labours in the Lord have not been in vain. In numerous and respectable congregations around him, he contemplates the fruit of his toils; and this Institution affords him the animating prospect of the continuation of the church; he sees you, like the blossoms of the spring, maturing to perpetuate the gospel, when our Lord shall call him from his labours, to rest and rejoice with holy prophets and apostles who surround his throne.

At the same time, however, in affording to the fathers of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia this tribute of affection and praise, it becomes me to state, that, upon you they have devolved the removal of obstructions to ministerial usefulness, which cramped their own exertions, and impeded their success. In laying the foundations of a church, the interests of religion may require that a clergyman submit to privations, and even labour with his hands. But, when the same church is founded and enlarged, these are neither consistent with the injunction of Christ, nor with the success of the gospel. Our Lord has ordained, that those who serve in the tabernacle, should live by the altar; and the prosperity of religion in the church, requires, that he who has devoted himself to its public

services, should not elsewhere expend his labours, nor seek his subsistence. The infringement of this order involves in it consequences which every clergyman, both for his own sake and for the sake of religion, should avoid with care. A preacher of the gospel engaged in secular pursuits is apt to sink in the esteem of society; and the respect withheld from his character is not usually transferred to his public instructions. In such cases, indeed, the exhibitions of a clergyman are generally less entitled to esteem and less calculated to produce extensive effects: his attention is divided, and his mental operations terminate in feeble results. Whether necessity or inclination induce him to involve himself in secular pursuits, he suffers a diminution of those energies of mind with which ministerial duty ought to be performed, and ultimately experiences the reaction of the loss which the church sustains. Its members, becoming little impressed by the power of the gospel, become also inattentive to the comfort of its preacher.

The prosperity of a church and the respectability of its instructors, therefore, require that the professional labours of the latter constitute the sole basis of their subsistence. The clergyman, who, without necessity, becomes a teacher of youth or a tiller of the ground, degrades the dignity of his office and fails in offering that better sacrifice which his duty demands. I know no greater calamity that can befall a nation than a race of clergy whose love for the world withdraws their exertions from the duties of their profession. When gain engrosses their attention, who watches for the souls of those entrusted to their charge? Ignorance and vice characterize them, and the pestilence that walketh in darkness destroys their souls.

I have made these remarks with a view to impress upon your minds that the existing condition of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia is an unnatural state, and ought neither to receive your approbation nor sanction. Every congregation within its bounds, with prudent management and moderate exertion, might enable their clergyman to devote his whole time to their religious improvement; and it will devolve upon you, and others who may be called to co-operate with you, to fix the church upon that basis which is most consistent with scriptural order, and best calculated to secure beneficial results. This duty you owe to religion and to yourselves, and the respectability of both requires that it be faithfully performed.

To secure this end, extraordinary exertions are by no means requisite. If only you become acceptable and faithful ministers of Christ, if you show that you have resolved to devote yourselves to religion and to live by its fruits, you will

possess the approbation of intelligent men; and no congregation who know their own interests, will easily permit you to leave them for the want of subsistence. But granting that a niggardly disposition should withhold from you the comforts of life, no law of religion binds you to remain among a people, who possessing ability, do not exemplify willingness to afford you a reasonable support. Acquire the reputation of usefulness, and other parts of the church will eagerly desire and reward your labours. You have no cause to fear that an acceptable preacher will remain without a good congregation.

Looking, then, to ministerial duty as your sole avocation and means of subsistence; to acquire those qualifications which prove subservient to the interests of religion ought to be the object of your immediate exertions. Upon this point it may be proper to remind you, that, as religious instructors, you are about to become the representatives of Christ in his church. That you may, therefore, imitate the pattern of this divine teacher, you ought to possess an assimilation of character. The mind which was in Christ Jesus must be also in you: you must have similar views and kindred feelings. For these ends, it will be requisite to cultivate alike your intellectual and moral capacities; to acquire intelligence and those habits which apply knowledge to the practical uses of a religious life.

With respect to the acquisition of knowledge, the character of professional men which you are about to sustain, will suggest to you the course of study which you ought to pursue. The information that bears upon the interests of religion, is always most valuable to a public instructor in the church: and the relative importance of the various branches of knowledge, may be ascertained by the degree of their connexion with this important end. Of this, however, young students are not always the best judges; and, in the pursuit of professional information, frequently spend much time with very little improvement. To assist you, therefore, in the prosecution of your studies, I beg leave to suggest to you a few parts of knowledge with which your minds may be profitably stored.

In the expectation of entering into the ministerial office, none of you, I hope, will conclude, that your former studies have received from you a sufficient degree of attention. In an elementary course, much scope for subsequent improvement remains; and this, with respect to the course through which you have passed, is too important to be safely overlooked. Your previous education has been uniformly conducted upon the principles of affording you those philosophical views which are calculated to render you intelligent men, and I shall be sorry

if any of you ever imagine that a clergyman, without the extensive acquisition of general knowledge, can sufficiently discharge his duty to the church. Religion is a practical system, and as closely connected with the present life, as with a future existence. The clergyman, then, who neglects that knowledge which is profitable to direct in the mean time, sadly abridges the sphere of his usefulness. It has been, I know, too frequently supposed that persons unacquainted with science and with those arrangements which unite society, may still be sufficiently qualified to occupy the ministerial office. But when you consider that ministerial duty requires, not merely a statement of the general principles of religion, but the application of these to a life which prepares for a future existence you will perceive that he who is without the knowledge of immediate utility, stumbles at the very threshold of religious improvement.

Upon a teacher of religion, what is termed secular learning confers many advantages. As subservient to theological improvement, you will find it an important acquisition; and, in your relations to civil society, it will promote alike your reputation and usefulness. You may be called to a sphere of activity in the church, where general intelligence will produce a more cordial reception to religious instruction; or, in this or a similar institution, you may be employed to conduct the education of youth. Let me, therefore, advise you to review occasionally your former studies; and, to your previous knowledge, to add such acquirements, as may render you esteemed and useful, in the various stations which are within the sphere of your professional choice.

At the same time, it ought to be observed, that the acquisition of religious knowledge should be your principal aim. No classical nor scientific acquirements can qualify you to be entrusted with the charge of souls. A mere man of science in the pulpit is a blind leader of the blind. His instructions cannot confer that knowledge which renovates the mind, produces rectitude of conduct, and communicates the hope of eternal life. As public teachers in the church, you must know religion both in its theoretic principles and practical applications; and it is now requisite, that you consider it with an accuracy and extent of view to which you have, as yet, been little habituated. Sustaining the character of students, you must attend to religion as a scientific pursuit; and be assured, that, till you know it in its systematic arrangements, you can neither be well qualified to instruct the ignorant nor to edify the intelligent.

I have made this remark, with a view to guard you against the affected liberality of those who decry system in religion,

as a human invention which enslaves the mind. Like every other branch of knowledge, religion has its general principles; and, viewing these as a revelation of the divine will sufficient for the direction of man, they must, as one whole, constitute a system of instruction. In every part of the works of the Deity, systematic arrangements are displayed; and the clergyman who does not perceive them in his word, occupies a station in the church for which he is ill qualified. Like the uncertain sound of the trumpet which produces no preparation for the battle, his crude conceptions prove neither a foundation of faith nor an incentive to duty.

But let me, farther, remind you, that the grand object of your studies, is not merely system, but a system of truth. In no scientific arrangement of principles, is truth so necessary as in systematic religion. Religion involves in it the honour of the Deity and the best interests of men; and these are promoted, only where its truths are known and believed. As about to be the messengers of the God of truth for the accomplishment of these valuable ends, you must, therefore, take care that you do not become the propagators of falsehood. This is the more requisite, because upon this continent there is a considerable disposition to overlook the importance of religious truth, and to reduce religion itself to mere feeling and conduct. Many imagine, that, if a person be what is usually denominated a good man, it matters not what he believes. This opinion, I trust, none of you will ever adopt. It degrades the dignity of human nature, and dishonours the Divinity. Feeling and action man has in common with the inferior creation; but intelligence is the glory of his nature; and he only is a good man whom principle conducts to the discharge of duty. Then he resembles that Being whose wisdom is refulgent in all his works.

In connexion with these remarks, it may be also observed, that public instructors in the church ought to possess a uniformity of religious views. I do not mean that every clergyman should have the same extent of intelligence, attach the same significance to every part of scripture, and invariably elicit from the words of inspiration the same deductions. In these respects diversity is unavoidable. But religion, as a system, has leading principles, which constitute the basis of human improvement and happiness; and, consequently he that would rear his structure must know its basis. Error cannot promote those ends for which truth is designed. Besides, clergymen do not sustain the character of men groping in the dark if haply they may perceive; they are the light of the world, the guides of a church which can have only one faith; and therefore, the yea of one ought never to be met by the nay of another.

It is necessary here to advert to the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in which you expect to become public instructors. It is characterized by its attachment to a particular system of religious principles. These, as in the school of Christ, its ministers teach, and its members learn to believe; and to these, satisfactory proofs of attachment are required from all who are admitted into the ministerial office. I would, therefore, advise you to make them the subject of rigorous investigation. In the course of your attendance here, it will be my duty to explain and enforce them by all the arguments which I am able to produce. I believe them to be principles which no accurate discussion is able to injure; and, as intelligent beings to whom knowledge is valuable, as men needing the improvement of religious instruction, as persons expecting to become public teachers, I invite you to investigate their nature and ascertain their truth. Allow neither the authority of the church nor my opinion to influence your judgment. In all your inquiries, let truth rest upon its own basis. Admit general principles; not because they have men for their supporters, but God for their author.

Considering religious truth, then, as the object of your pursuit, let me remind you that there is only one source from which a Christian teacher should derive his principles. Whatever is true and profitable must be learned from those instructions which the author of our faith has imparted to his church. By the law and by the testimony every religious opinion ought to be tried. Of the extent and value of the light of nature a great deal has been said; but it has been said by persons, who, enjoying the benefits of a Christian education, have referred to reason what they had learnt from scripture. Without derogating from those powers of intelligence which man possess, or from that religious knowledge which reason may acquire; it may be observed, that the very existence of a revelation from God, indicates the imperfection of human capacity for acquiring, by any other means, a correct knowledge of his will. Of all those, accordingly, whose sole guide has been the light of nature, the uniform experience has proved its insufficiency. Professing themselves to be wise they have become fools; and, by their belief and practice, have dishonoured the glory of the God of heaven. To the sure word of revelation, therefore you must apply for religious instruction. Having once satisfied yourselves that the scriptures are the words of inspiration, neither the opinion of men nor what you conceive to be the light of nature, ought to shake your belief of the doctrines which they contain.

Since, then, the sacred volume is the basis of religion, a Christian teacher should possess an accurate knowledge of its various parts; and this you must expect only as the result of much careful research. In religion, and in natural things, the arrangements of the Deity are similar; the hand of the diligent alone is rewarded with abundance.

By this I do not mean to insinuate, that, in the scriptures important doctrines are obscurely taught. On the contrary, these are now explicitly stated; and each with a degree of evidence proportioned to its value. Still, however, to acquire the information necessary for a public instructor is not an easy task. Admitting the perspicuity of every part of scripture, much remains for diligent application and the exercise of judgement. To arrange and classify its numerous contents, to store them in the mind, to possess just views of them as one whole, and to have that knowledge of every part in its connexions and bearings which will enable you to form from it deductions applicable to the varied circumstances of the Christian life, must be the result of no small labour. But it may be also added, that the word of God is not without its obscurities. The Deity has adopted a mode of instruction, which, in its nature, accords with the grand ends of revelation. The Christian religion is designed, not merely to communicate knowledge, but to enlarge the mind's intellectual capacities; and the form in which God has revealed his will, excites those exertions of intellect which promotes its improvement.

A variety of causes have contributed to render many parts of scripture not easily understood. The general nature of languages produces occasional ambiguities of expression which cannot be avoided. Every nation, also has its peculiar modes of expression, which accord neither with the usual meaning of the terms individually, nor with the general structure of language. Besides, in all languages, there are so many allusions to national and natural history, to local institutions and to national modes of thinking and acting, that, where these are unknown, the most explicit statements become involved in obscurity.

As a revelation from God, the scriptures also contain other causes of obscurity peculiar to themselves. The early instructions afforded to the church were not always of easy comprehension. Many of them were intentionally presented in prophetic hints, and under the guide of emblematical allusions and typical services; and, when you consider that the very persons whom the Deity employed to communicate the knowledge of his will, with much diligent inquiry into the meaning of their own statements made little proficiency, you cannot expect that you will comprehend them with ease.

Since, then, all scripture is profitable, till you have acquired a capacity of elucidation, you cannot be sufficiently instructed unto the kingdom of God, nor thoroughly furnished unto all good works. In the process of religious instruction, to rectify mistakes and obviate objections are frequently the first parts of a teacher's task; and he only who is mighty in the scriptures will mightily convince. To an extensive and accurate knowledge of the plain statements of revelation, therefore, you must add an acquaintance with those parts which are not so easily understood; and, in order to assist you in your researches I shall now state to you what appear to me to be the best means for attaining this end.

Divine authority induces me principally to recommend to you a frequent and attentive perusal of the scriptures themselves. He who knows the best means of religious improvement, has said, *Search the Scriptures*; and whoever obeys this direction obtains an enlargement of knowledge. You will thus familiarize yourselves with the Word of God; and its statements will, in an imperceptible manner, so identify themselves with your mental operations, that a richness of scriptural sentiment and expression will insensibly pervade your public instructions; and I would here observe, that, in religious disquisition, as scriptural sentiment, ought to be the only guide, so there is no species of style better adapted to the human capacity, more pleasing to a mind desirous of religious improvement, or more likely to produce useful effects, than that which accords with the simple diction and arrangement of the scriptures.

It may be also farther remarked, that, till you can trace your information to the word of God, you have no right to be recognized as Christian teachers. By conversation, and the perusal of books, you may obtain very accurate and extensive views of divine truth; but, if you have not brought all your knowledge to the law and testimony, compared and judged for yourselves, you have advanced no farther in religion than the tradition of the elders.

In perusing the scriptures, it will be necessary for you to guard against those incorrect views of their meaning, which the consideration of insulated phrases and sentences is apt to produce. It is a rule of criticism, applicable to every species of writing, that, in all cases of ambiguity or apparent contradiction the general spirit and scope is the standard of explanation: and, in ascertaining the meaning of scripture, attention to this principle will preserve you from many mistakes. He who compares spiritual things with spiritual frequently obtains unexpected results. He perceives a relation of parts which

elucidates obscurities, and enables him to affix to particular passages a meaning which a detached view of them did not seem to authorize.

In many cases, indeed, the word of God is the only interpreter of itself. Being gradually communicated to the church, during a course of ages, and containing the instructions of the Deity, interwoven with the history of his peculiar people, its various parts allude so frequently to those past and future events which are the subject of scriptural statement, that, without a knowledge of these, many particular passages cannot be understood. Besides, you will recollect that the path of the church has been the path of progressive illumination. Those views of the divine will which were communicated to the church under former dispensations of grace, were, both in plainness in statement and extent of knowledge, inferior to the means of instruction which we enjoy; and, on this account, the light of the latter days of the church, may be profitably employed to elucidate the obscurities of early scriptures. Nor are the first parts of revelation of less utility for explaining the last. A variety of the forms of expression contained in the New Testament, are derived from the preceding history of the church. In many instances, also, the phraseology of the old dispensation has been still retained. Many passages, therefore, require a reference to the more ancient records of revelation: and, to this comparison of scripture with scripture, as a part of study, I would particularly direct your attention. It will afford you not only an extensive knowledge of the meaning of scripture, but enlarged views of christian doctrine, and a richness of illustration and proof, which you cannot otherwise acquire.

As yet your knowledge of the word of God has been principally obtained through the medium of translation. The previous part of your education, however, enables you now to peruse it in those languages in which it was at first delivered to the church; and this, I would recommend to you, as a productive means of improvement. In suggesting the utility of this exercise, I would not be supposed to insinuate that our common version of the Scriptures is badly executed. In the course of my own studies, I have attended considerably to biblical research; and, as far as I know, it is excelled by none. Many have attempted to expose what they conceived to be its inaccuracies; and some, to produce a more correct translation; but no substitute of equal excellence has ever appeared. Other versions of scripture may contain elucidations of particular passages, for which they deserve to be consulted; but, in retaining the spirit of the original, they are all more defective. Our

common translation, with general accuracy of rendering, combines a simplicity of diction, which both accords with the sublimity of scriptural sentiment, and presents the Word of God in its true character, the guide, alike of the unlearned and intelligent.

Still, however, the perusal of the scriptures in their original languages is a useful exercise. The terms and modes of expression which an author uses, are best calculated to convey the spirit of his writings; and you are aware, that these cannot always be literally translated without barbarism. The general ambiguity of language also, occasionally introduces into versions an obscurity of meaning which, a reference to the original tends to elucidate. Besides, our common translation of the scriptures, with all its excellencies, has no claim to perfection. It is susceptible of many improvements, which, an accurate acquaintance with the original languages, and a knowledge of the present state of biblical criticism, will enable you to make.

But when I direct your attention to the scriptures, I would not, by any means, advise you to trust to the resources of your own minds for a knowledge of their contents; the student who reads only the Word of God, resembles the solitary Christian. By his own meditations he may enlarge his knowledge; but those who enjoy fellowship and speak often one to another, acquire a superior degree of information; and the same reason which proves the value of christian communion, enforces the perusal of books that contain elucidations of scripture. This is a species of fellowship by which you may enjoy the conversation of both the dead and the living; and concentrate, in your own minds, the religious knowledge of ages.

Books upon scripture present to the student a fertile source of improvement. Students, however, even when they are eager to improve, do not always derive from books, a degree of knowledge proportioned to the means of information which are within their reach. All that has been written upon biblical topics is neither with respect to subject nor talent of equal importance. On this account it frequently happens that the student who selects his own course of reading, expends much time and labour to very little purpose. His proficiency in knowledge does not correspond with his exertions; and, sometimes, the knowledge which he does acquire is not of the most profitable kind. It is possible that he may be ever learning, and adding to his stock of intelligence, and yet never arrive at the knowledge of those truths which are most necessary to be preached. I would advise you, therefore, in the perusal of books, to regulate your studies by the relative importance of subjects, as bearing upon

the grand ends of the ministerial office, and as most closely connected with the immediate stage of your education. During your theological course, it will be my duty, occasionally to recommend to you a variety of books upon particular topics; and, on this account, I shall only, in the meantime, suggest to you as few general remarks respecting a course of reading which you may pursue with advantage.

None of you, I believe, are disposed to question the truth of the Christian religion; and, upon this subject, I certainly would not wish you to hesitate. Yet, in studying a composition which represents itself to be the Word of God, its claims ought to be examined, and both proofs and objections considered with care. In a variety of treatises upon this point, you will find a statement of both, which, for several reasons, deserve an attentive perusal. Besides a general enlargement of religious views, you will thus obtain more satisfactory evidence of the truth of your religious principles, and be also better qualified to resist the opposers of the Christian Revelation.

Clear and consistent views of scriptural doctrine, will tend to satisfy your mind respecting the authenticity of the whole; and, therefore, in connexion with this branch of study, I would advise you to examine the contents of the sacred volume. In this inquiry, the exercise of your own judgment will afford you much information; but much may be also learned from a judicious selection of writings upon religious subjects. It is the advantage of reading, that other men labour; and those who peruse their works, enter into their labours, and, by a degree of exertion comparatively small, acquire the intellectual treasures of a studious life. The systematic arrangements of divines will afford you general views of the Christian faith, combined with those parts of scripture by which they are proved and illustrated. Upon particular topics theological writers present much valuable disquisition; and the explanatory and critical notes of commentators, will frequently enable you to comprehend with ease many difficult passages, upon which your own judgment alone might be long and unprofitably exercised.

It is necessary to remark, however, that, though a clergyman should, if possible, understand every part of scripture; to expend your first exertions upon those which are obscure, is not the most profitable course. It is the principle value of this branch of knowledge, that it may be occasionally rendered subservient to the illustration of important doctrines; but standing alone, or constituting the chief part of your intellectual stores, you will find its utility small. With this species of erudition, young men of genius are apt to be fascinated; and, in the

meantime, they overlook more important information; merely because it may be easily acquired. You ought not, therefore, to forget that a person may become a critic in the words and phrases of Scripture, and yet possess very crude conceptions of its general scope; and, certainly, a clergyman of this description must be ill qualified to communicate that knowledge which human beings principally need. With respect to doctrinal points, whatever is most plainly and frequently stated, is also most valuable; and consequently, entitled to the first regard. Besides, a person who has acquired general views of religion from the plain statements of scripture, usually finds fewer passages which are difficult to be understood; and these difficulties which he does encounter, are more easily solved. I would not, however, be understood as discouraging a critical investigation of words and phrases, or an attentive perusal of critical works upon scripture. Sound criticism promotes both accuracy and enlargement of view; and, at times, it affords an unexpected richness of illustration which is exceedingly useful.

Besides those kinds of reading which I have already recommended for the elucidation of scripture, there are others which deserve your attention. You will recollect that the Word of God, in connexion with its doctrinal statements, presents a variety of collateral details respecting the diversified allotments of the church. On this account, the scriptures abound in allusions, and refer to particulars, which, persons of a different nation and age and unacquainted with the climates and countries than inhabited by the church, cannot be supposed to understand. It will be necessary for you therefore, as far as possible, to identify yourselves with those to whom the Word of God was originally delivered, and to acquire the information which they possessed. This can be effected, only by an attentive perusal of scripture, in connexion with those books which illustrate the topography and chronology of ancient nations, describe the natural productions of their countries, and state their religious and political arrangements, their progress in the arts of life, and their general customs and habits.

By these means you will extend your knowledge, not only of the historial, but of the prophetic parts of the Scriptures. Prophetic descriptions, presented in the language of those to whom it was originally addressed, contains the same allusion and modes of expression as historical detail; and, therefore, the same means of elucidation are applicable to both. With respect to prophetic event I would only remark, that you will derive much information from the scriptures themselves, and also from those disquisitions which connect prediction with its progressive accomplishment.

But farther, in specifying the course of reading most profitable to a theological student, the knowledge of ecclesiastical history ought not to be overlooked. This species of reading, in connexion with the principles of the Christian faith, affords a variety of impressive instructions, which bear alike upon christian belief and deportment. Whoever is unacquainted with those views of the divine government which the history of the church presents, is ignorant of the best evidences of revealed religion, and a stranger to its most solemn warnings and cheering consolations. Now, the Word of God, containing the authentic history of the church during a certain period, will afford you this information in part; and, for a knowledge of succeeding ages, you must apply to the works of the ecclesiastical historian.

In directing your attention to the preceding sources of information, let me also remind you, that, as teachers of religion, you must be qualified to communicate to others the result of your own studies. To this point I would request you particularly to attend; because, though exceedingly important to the usefulness and respectability of a clergyman, it is too frequently overlooked. Students, in their eagerness to acquire information, are apt to forget that a capacity of teaching ought always to be a leading feature of the ministerial character. Yet a facility of instructing the ignorant, is really a clerical endowment of much greater value to the church, than profound research. In all your compositions, therefore, I would again recommend to you the habit of careful analysis; and, at the same time, an attentive perusal of those specimens of public instruction with which our language abounds. Publications in the form of sermons, are a species of composition, to which, I believe, students in general pay too little attention. When these are the productions of men of talents and usefulness, they certainly delineate the course which others ought to pursue. Beside the knowledge of analysis and the doctrinal information which a well composed sermon affords, it exhibits religious principle in its practical bearings and illustrates the mode to which abstract views may be rendered subservient to a holy life.

Upon the subject of composition and address, I have, in the course of your education, made a variety of remarks, which, at present, supersede the necessity of many additional directions. A preacher of the gospel who does not pay a becoming attention to style and manner, injures alike religion and himself. Where it is his object to win affection, he presents a forbidding aspect; and his slovenly exhibitions are repaid with the neglect of his audience. Style and address, it is true, cannot commun-

icate the knowledge of salvation. But, if the want of them produce inattention to the truth, if they recommend religion, they are exceedingly valuable; and permit me to observe, that religion does not disregard the ornaments of dress. It courts them, and it well deserves them. Blue, and purple, and scarlet, adorned the tabernacle; and the eloquence of Paul and Apollos, was consecrated to the service of the gospel. It is not for us, indeed, to limit the operations of divine grace. Weak and foolish things may be employed to produce powerful effects. But let it always be remembered, that, until the weak and foolish be rendered mighty through God, they gain none of the gospel.

I am the more solicitous to impress upon your minds the importance of pulpit eloquence; because, from the mistaken views of religious men, it has received less attention than it really deserves. Many of them seem to have imagined, that our Lord's selection of apostles, authorizes a neglect of the refinements of language and manner in the church. But it ought to be considered, that he who called them, prepared them for his service. He connected the gift of utterance with the gift of knowledge; and taught them both what they should say, and how they should speak. It is not true, that our Lord undervalued oratorical endowments; he has combined them with a highest honours. He who was educated at the feet of Gamaliel was not, for his eloquent and courtly address, excluded from the apostleship. Christ often selected him to vindicate his gospel before rulers and kings; and also to transmit, to succeeding ages, the principal knowledge of his doctrine. The person best qualified to command the attention of an audience, is most likely to promote their improvement. Like the skilful preparer of food, he creates a relish for what he has provided. The spirit of God only, it is true, can communicate efficiency to the word of his grace. But the holy Spirit operates upon the rational mind, by means agreeable to its nature; and, therefore, in religion a pleasing mode of address may be as useful, as in the ordinary intercourse of life.

Again, I would observe, that the acquisition of knowledge and a capacity of communication will qualify you only in part for ministerial duties. In the church, government is combined with instruction; and both are necessary for the improvement of its members. Experience also exemplifies, that the clergyman who cannot rule, labours unprofitably in the world and doctrine. To correct views of christian principles, therefore, you must add the knowledge which is profitable to direct in the government of the church. This is the more requisite;

because students in general do not regard capacities in government according to their importance. They are rather disposed to consider what they should preach, than how they should behave in the house of God. With a view to fix your attention upon a point so essential to the prosperity of the church, I shall reserve it for the subject of a separate discussion. In the mean time, I would advise you to study the apostle Paul's delineations of a christian bishop, and the pattern which his own conduct exhibits; and then endeavour to acquire those habits which may qualify you to succeed him in the government of the church.

In connexion with the preceding remarks, let me affectionately remind you, that the success of your studies, as well as of your subsequent ministerial labours, depends upon the assistance of him who has said, *In all thy ways acknowledge Him and he shall direct thy steps*. Sustaining the character of students, do not forget that you are also Christians. During your attendance upon this Institution, you have established your reputation, as young men of talent and correct deportment. Enable the community to add, that you are, in all things, pattern of that religion which you expect to preach. You are the first hopes of this Seminary and of the Presbyterian Church. May the God of all grace enable you to maintain the reputation of both: may he direct you in your studies, qualify you for the service of his church, and render you a blessing in the midst of the earth.

FAREWELL ADDRESSES.

Pictou, 18th Dec. 1838.

Rev'd. Sir:

We, the undersigned have great pleasure in being the channel through which the Presbyterian Congregations of this County, in connection with the Synod of Nova Scotia, present you with the address which accompanies this, and we beg to assure you that we join most cordially in the sentiments of respect and esteem therein set forth toward you. Having been eye witnesses of the almost unexampled trials, difficulties, persecution, privations, and slanders, which as the friend and supporter—we might add founder,—of liberal education in this country you have for upwards of twenty years been subjected to, we trust, that while in common with your numerous friends in this quarter we regret the loss of your society, and your usefulness in the Institution of learning over which you have hitherto presided, we may be allowed to rejoice that you have at last been appointed to a situation which, while it continues you in that sphere of usefulness so congenial to your nature, will reward you for long and meritorious exertions to promote the diffusion of science and useful knowledge among the youth of the Province. That you may be long spared to fill the elevated station which you now hold, is the ardent wish of Rev'd. Sir

Your most

Obedt. servants

George Smith, member of the Legislative
Council of Nova ScotiaThos. Dickson, member of Prov. Assem-
bly for the County of Pictou

To the Rev'd.

Thomas McCulloch, D. D.
Principal of Dalhousie College.

To

The Reverend Thomas McCulloch, D. D., Principal of
Dalhousie College, Halifax.

Reverend Sir:

Your residence amongst us for so many years has been marked throughout by so ardent a zeal for the promotion of our best interests, that we cannot permit your departure, even

with a view to the occupation of a place of more extensive usefulness, without expressing to you, on its account, our deep regret, and the lively sense which we entertain of the lasting obligations which your services have conferred upon us.

Your name is so interwoven with the foundation and advancement of unrestricted and liberal education in Nova Scotia, that our encomium can add but little to the high estimation in which your exertions are held by every candid and intelligent mind. We have great pleasure, however, in assuring you of our grateful recollection of the numerous advantages which we have derived from our presidents in the more immediate vicinity of your labours, and in witnessing the numbers of young men, formerly under your charge, who are now occupying stations of usefulness in Society, so creditably to themselves, and to you as their instructor. We cannot but express our deep sorrow that the Institution of learning over which you presided at Pictou with so much ability, usefulness, and zeal, has for the present been rendered ineffective through the opposition of its enemies; but we cherish the hope that it may yet be raised out of its ashes, and diffuse among us the blessings of an enlightened system of education.

Whatever be its fate your personal sacrifices and struggles to maintain its existence, in the face of no ordinary opposition, will not be easily effaced from our minds.

That the appointment of President of Dalhousie College, which you have recently received, may impart a new impulse to the diffusion of useful knowledge in Nova Scotia, and be productive of much happiness to yourself, is our fervent wish.

Pictou, 20th October, 1838.

Signed in the name, and by the appointment of the several congregations set opposite our names.

1st Presbyterian congregation,
Pictou

James Dawson
James Primrose

A. Campbell
Samuel Waugh

Tatamagouche

Robert Patterson
Alex. McKenzie

River John

John McLean
John Douglas
James Carmichael
Thos. Munro

West River

East River

Upper Settlements E. River

John Bent
William McKeen

Saint Mary's

John Mitchell
Robert P. Patterson

Merigomish

To the Revd. Thomas McCulloch, D. D.,
Principal of Dalhousie College, etc.

Revd. Sir

The appointment which you have received to the Presidency of the College at Halifax having occasioned your removal from the Eastern Section of the Province, we cannot but avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded by your change of residence to assure you of the warm feelings of regard and esteem which are entertained toward you by the members of the Presbyterian congregation at Truro.

Your untiring exertions in the cause of education generally have secured you the respect of all who appreciate aright the blessings of widely diffused intelligence, while the interest with which you have watched over the welfare of that body with which you have been connected by a community of religious sentiment, entitled you to the liveliest gratitude of every one of its members.

The satisfaction which you must feel from the recollections of a series of years spent in promoting the objects of religion and education, cannot but be heightened by the consciousness that your exertions have been to a large extent successful, and have gained you the lasting regard of those for whose benefit they were made.

Our best wishes for your welfare attend you to the scene of your present labours, and we fervently hope that you may be long spared to occupy a situation in which from talents and experience you are qualified to be eminently useful.

Signed on behalf, and by order of, the Presbyterian Congregation at Truro,

ALEX. KENT,
Chairman.

Truro,
Nov. 4th, 1838.

INDEX.

	Page
Academy, Charter of	48, 63
" erection of	63
" opening of	64
" Library	65
" Grants to	104 et seq.
" petitions against	99, 134
" decline of	176 et seq.
Archibald, Sir A. G.	188
" Hon. S. G. W.	112, 134
" Mr. C. D.	172
Audubon, J. J.	145, 147, 148
Address to Synod	164 et seq.
Blanchard, Jotham	108, 111, 127 et seq.
" George A.	149
Brandy election	122, 123
Communions	10, 11, 35
Cock, Rev. Daniel	17
Croke, Judge	34
Colonial Patriot	108, 109
Council, The	111, 112
Carmichael, Squire	168
Committee of Assembly, Report of	105
Deschamps, Nicolas	11, 12
Dalhousie, Earl of	56
" College	56, 57, 159, 172, 175 et seq.
" Early days in	180, 182
Divinity Students, licensure of	70
Durham, Seminary at	175
Fraser, Rev. D. A.	97, 100
Grammar School	46, 47
Glasgow Society	84, 85, 88, 93, 95, 96 et seq.
Government Commission	103, 104
Goderich, Lord	128 et seq.
Howe, Joseph	124, 125, 147, 188
Hall, James	11
" Dr. James.	13
" Robert	13
"Investigation"	71, 72
Kings College	38 et seq.
Keir, Rev. John	73
Kempton, Sir James	109, 113 et seq.
Log College	42 et seq.
Ladies' Society	65, 169
Letter to Students	79, 80

INDEX—Continued.

McCulloch, Michael, Scotland	7
" Mrs. Michael	7, 8
" Mary Elizabeth	7
" Andrew	7
" Dr. Thomas	7
" Dr. William	7
" George	7
" John	7
" Michael, Montreal.	47
" Mrs. Thomas	11, 14
" Michael, Pictou	70, 152, 155
" Helen	155
" Elizabeth	153
" David	155
" Isabella Hall	191
" James Walker	122, 154
" Prof. Thomas.	46, 147, 149, 155, 188
" Rev. Dr. William	155
" Robert	153
" Dr. Thos. in Britain	83, 84, 90, 186
" " Writings of	73, 142, 185
" " President of Dalhousie University	173
McGregor, Dr. James	11, 17, 19, 21, 23, 60, 126, 150, 175
Mortimer, Mr. Edward	22, 24, 25, 28
Marriage Laws.	60 et seq.
Mitchell, Rev. Dr. John	65
" Mr. James	91
McKinley, Rev. John	67, 75, 87, 93, 100
McKenzie, Rev. K. J.	97 et seq.
Murdoch, Rev. J. L.	76, 77, 79
McLean, Rev. John	76, 79
McGillivray, Rev. Angus	76
Matheson, Squire	168
Museum	110, 118, 145 et seq.
Native ministers	27, 69
" " receive degrees from Glasgow University	82
Prevost Governor	32
Pictou	18, 20, 21
Prince St. Church	20
Prince Edward Island.	18, 72, 121
Patterson, Rev. R. S.	76, 79
Proposals from Church of England	143, 144
Philosophical Lectures in Pictou	118
Philosophical Lectures in Halifax	118, 119
" " in New Brunswick.	121, 122
" " in Prince Edward Island	121, 122

INDEX—Continued.

Robson, Rev. James	10, 61
Ross, Rev. Duncan	19, 21, 22, 55
“Robertson’s History of the Mission of the Session to N. S. and P. E. I.”	20, 29
Stewarton	9, 16
Secession Church	15, 16, 51, 88, 89, 93
Sherbrooke, Sir John	49, 101
Synod, First	53, 54
” Memorial of	84
” Acts of 1818	60
Smith, Hon. George	152, 153
Trustees Appeal to Britain	126
” New Board of	135
United States	67, 68
Union of 1817	51 et seq.
Union with Kirk, overtures for	74
Walker, Rev. David	11
” Isabella Walker	11
” James	13
Waddell, Rev. John	8

